16 PAGES
IS 150

AL FAJR
JERUSALEM
PALESTINIAN WEEKLY
(USPS 686-630

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to:
Al-Fajr
2025 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

exp. 85704
Serial Records Division
Harvard College Library
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

OCTOBER 19, 1984
VOL.V,NO.233

12 Israelis Detained in Pro-Dheisheh Protest

Twelve members of the Israeli Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit University were arrested and taken from Dheisheh refugee camp on October 14 and 15. Members of the anti-occupation committee were demonstrating against recent harassment of camp residents by Israeli settlers and military authorities.

"The settlers arrive at Dheisheh camp behaving like terrorists and are not arrested while we hold a peaceful demonstration to protest violations of human rights and terrorist acts and we get arrested," said Gideon Spiro, committee spokesman in an interview with *Al Fajr*. Spiro spoke of his arrest October 14 and the arrest of 11 of his committee members the next day during the protest demonstration in front of Dheisheh refugee camp.

Dheisheh camp was recently subjected to severe restrictions by the military following a spree of stone-throwing by refugees. The restrictions included a three-day curfew and closure of eight entrances to the camp leaving only two open. Settlers were given permission by defence minister Yitzhak Rabin to run vigilante patrols in front of the camp in an attempt to deter youths from stoning passing Israeli cars.

Camp residents also received support October 13 from MK Matti Peled, of the Progressive List for Peace, who arrived at the camp with a delegation from his party. Peled told *Al Fajr* he went to Dheisheh to "see the situation and to see how camp residents were living after the restrictions and blocking of entrances and to hear what happened with settlers' patrols."

Peled said Dheisheh refugees were "subjected to harsh treatment from the military government and settlers." He added that "I suspect their (the government's) final goal is eviction of people from their place of residence." Spiro agreed with Peled and said that the purpose of Israeli measures is "to cause fear among camp residents to bring them to a total silence." He added that the government "is looking for reasons to evacuate the camp because settlers want the area for themselves to build a settlement on it."

Both Spiro and Peled said they intend to continue their defence of the camp's refugees. Peled said he will take the issue to the Knesset and has already asked the Knesset speaker to place it on the agenda as an "urgent" matter.

Spiro and his committee members planned to continue their protest demonstration at Dheisheh for three consecutive days, October 14-16. On October 14, Spiro and 15 members demonstrated carrying anti-occupation signs such as "Disarm Settlers" and "Establish a Palestinian State in Occupied Territories." According to Spiro, several camp residents gathered around the protesters in a show of solidarity while settlers passing by on the main Hebron-Jerusalem road yelled obscenities at them.

An hour after their arrival said Spiro, border police came and ordered them to disperse. Spiro refused and got into an argument with Bethlehem's military governor Hiam Aviv. Spiro was arrested as a result and charged with participating in an illegal demonstration, insulting the military governor by calling him "an occupation force" and resisting arrest. He was released two hours later on IS100,000 bail.

The next day, October 15, Spiro and 11 members returned to Dheisheh. Only five minutes later the border police arrived to arrest them again on charges of holding an illegal demonstration. All were later released on IS5000 bail.

Peled said he asked the health department to investigate hazardous conditions resulting from an open rock quarry near Dheisheh camp. He said that during his visit to the camp he talked to residents who complained of dust from the quarry causing them health problems. The quarry is owned by an Israeli company.

In a related story, 17 youths from Dheisheh were arrested October 17 following a molotov cocktail attack on a passing Israeli bus, according to Israel Radio. The state-owned radio alleged some of the youths confessed their role in the attack.

The Israeli *HaAretz* newspaper reported October 16 that an Israeli policeman sustained head injuries the day before during an attempt to arrest Dheisheh youths. The paper reported that when police and border guards arrived at the camp they were met with a spray of stones, which hit one in the head. The police were trying to arrest youths suspected of throwing stones at Israeli traffic passing in front of the camp. Several youth were arrested.

MK Matti Peled and Progressive List For Peace delegates (insert) stand in solidarity with Dheisheh camp. In the background a view of the camp is obstructed by the newly-built blockade of Dheisheh's main entrance. A/O photo.

Settler Shoots at Kid, Vandalises Home

In apparent revenge for a bomb last October 15 in which seven Israeli youths were injured near Nablus, Jewish settlers vandalised two houses in Balata refugee camp, October 16, and chased Palestinians in Nablus streets. Villages near Nablus were also curfewed and checkposts were erected at Balata and Askar refugee camps.

An unidentified settler broke into the two houses, belonging to Ibrahim Mahmoud Aziz and Said Hassan Terawi, in the Jaffa alley of Balata, the largest refugee camp in the occupied territories. The settler opened fire at Ali Abdel Wahhab, a four-year-old child, but did not wound the boy. He also destroyed the TV set, refrigerator and water container in Aziz's home, and reportedly tried to beat up Ibrahim's wife and their two children.

The settler, who was arrested by police, claimed that he had been stoned by unidentified persons while walking near Qadri Tuqan school in the camp.

An Israeli military source also reported that two Israeli students in a Nablus synagogue shot in the air while chasing Arabs through Nablus streets. The settlers claimed that the Arabs stoned them.

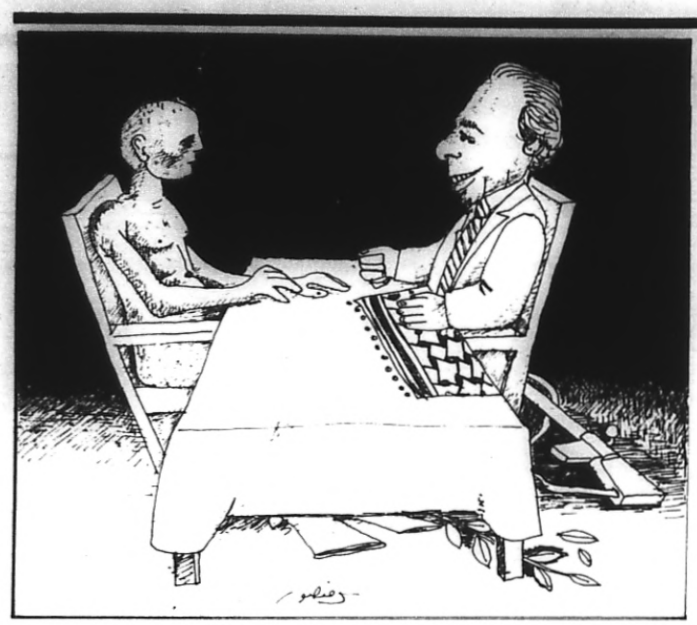
Seven Israeli youths were wounded October 15 at midday when a homemade bomb exploded in Asira al-Qiblieh, five kilometres south of Nablus. The Israeli youths were on a tour bus belonging to the Protection of Nature in Petah Tikva when the roadside bomb exploded.

According to Israeli sources, the bomb consisted of a timer, nails, and an undetermined amount of explosives. In reaction to the explosion, Israeli military authorities put villages in the vicinity on curfew and began a search campaign in the villages. No arrests were reported. The curfew was lifted from the villages Wednesday October 17. The condition of the injured who were taken to Ein Karem Hospital was described as fair. They were superficially wounded by shrapnel.

In the evening October 15 a petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli military patrol stationed near Askar refugee camp south of Nablus. Israeli authorities reported that no damage or injuries occurred. Israel Radio reported that Israeli troops clamped a curfew on Askar and ordered all youths to Nablus military headquarters for questioning. A curfew was also imposed on Balata after residents reportedly demonstrated and threw stones at Israeli soldiers. (Translation: Al-Quds October 16, Al-Sha'ab, October 17)

IN THIS ISSUE

Israeli Military Warn Palestinian Nationalists p.2
BZU Students Still on Strike p.3
Kahane Targets Haifa This Week p.4
Beit Amin Struggles for Existence p.7
Israel Squeezes Life Out of West Bank and Gaza .... pp.8&9
Palestinian Theatre Evaluated p.11
Window on Arab Press p.12
The Week's Events in Brief ..... pp.14&15
Human Rights Federation Protests Israeli Measures p.16



Israeli prime minister Shimon Peres in Washington October 14 said he might "theoretically" be prepared to talk to Yasir Arafat, if the PLO leader "dropped demands for the destruction of Israel and the creation of an independent Palestinian state."

Military Warns Nationalists Against Political Activity

Several local Palestinian nationalists have been summoned to appear before the military government over the past week, where they were warned against further political activity including the reactivating of the banned National Guidance Committee.

A written warning was handed to the figures which read: "It is suspected you are involved in activities to revive the National Guidance Committee." The letter went on to say that "any attempt to take part in any political activities will subject you to punishment."

The NGC was banned by the military in 1982.

Among those who received warnings are: Wahid Hamdallah, the dismissed mayor of Anabta; Amin Nasr, the dismissed mayor of Qalqilya; Mahmoud Ya'ish, owner of *Al Sha'ab* newspaper; Akram Haniya, editor-in-chief of *Al Sha'ab* newspaper and head of the Arab Journalists Association; Bashir Barghouti, editor-in-chief of the weekly *Al Tali'a*; Ma'moun Sayyed, former editor-in-chief of *Al Fajr* newspaper; Said Ala al-Din, former Jerusalem advocate; Samiha Khalil, head of *In'ash al Usra*; Dr. Samir Katbeh, former head of the Doctor's Union; Dr. Azmi Shuaibi, dismissed council member of al-Bireh; Ibrahim Dakkaq, head of the West Bank Professionals Union; Ibrahim Tawil, dismissed mayor of al-Bireh; and Bassam Salhi, former Bir Zeit Student Council head.

Israel Radio reported that the Israeli military government had also notified the Palestinian figures that they are banned from leaving the country without obtaining permission in advance from authorities.

Anti-Israel Attacks Increase in S.Lebanon

Palestinian and Lebanese resistance fighters escalated their attacks against Israeli forces in south Lebanon this week in operations which were reported daily in the area's press. Several Israeli soldiers were killed or injured when a roadside bomb exploded on the Deir Mimas road to Marjyoun October 11. Lebanese sources confirmed that the military lorry was completely destroyed in the blast.

An Israeli soldier was killed and another wounded in a clash between Israeli forces and Palestinian fighters October 12. The Israeli military spokesperson who admitted the casualties said that the attackers who infiltrated through the Awali river into south Lebanon were indeed Palestinians. The spokesperson reported that one of the attackers was killed and the rest fled.

A bomb exploded in the Sidon area October 14 when an Israeli patrol passed over a roadside device. The Israeli military reported no casualties as a result of the blast.

Lebanese sources also reported two explosions on the Harouf and Jilo-Bazourya roads in south Lebanon October 15. Lebanese national fighters attacked the same day an Israeli patrol travelling on the road leading to upper Nabitiya. Later in the evening, Lebanese fighters attacked a patrol near the Sarafand village and another in the Zahrani region.

In reaction to the escalation of military operations against them, Israeli military authorities closed the Awali river bridge October 15. An Israeli Radio correspondent reported that a number of senior officers are conducting intensive investigations in the Jezzine region to determine how a number of Palestinian guerrillas infiltrated into south Lebanon.

In a related story, the United Nations Relief Work Agency (UNRWA) reported recently that aid to Palestinians in south Lebanon was hampered five times last week when Israeli authorities refused to let truckloads of supplies from Beirut to enter the south. A senior UN official said that Israeli authorities refused to allow an ambulance bringing patients to Beirut to pass through an army checkpost. After unsuccessful attempts by UN officials to convince Israeli authorities to allow supplies into south Lebanon, a truck of supplies carrying six tons of special food for children and pregnant women, as well as clinic medical supplies, was allowed into south Lebanon October 10.

The body of Francois Castman, the French woman who participated in a Palestinian military operation in September against the Israeli army, was buried in Burj al-Barajneh refugee camp in Beirut October 10. Castman died in the operation.

Court Stops Military Order to Destroy Camp Homes

The Israeli High Court issued an order *nisi* October 16 stopping the military and civil administration in Gaza from tearing down two homes in Jabalya refugee camp. Authorities ordered owners of the homes to destroy their own houses on the pretext of not having a building license.

The court decision resembles another order *nisi* issued October 5 in regards to military plans to demolish seven other Jabalya homes. The seven homeowners also received orders to tear down their homes because of no building license. The two cases are seen as part of an Israeli military plan to transfer camp residents to a recently-built housing project designated by authorities as refugee housing. Camp residents refuse the move and charge that the Israeli authorities are merely trying to get rid of the embarrassing sight of a refugee camp while maintaining an occupation and refusing to return the refugees to their original homes.

The nine families were given seven days to demolish their homes before the military moved in. They decided, therefore, to pursue the case in court, where they questioned the legality of the action. Israeli advocate Lea Tsemel took the case to court and is awaiting a reply from military authorities as to reasons behind their demolition decision.

Idris Mohammed Defda', one of the homeowners, told *Al Fajr*: "I bought a 2000 metre land plot in Jabalya in 1962 and got a license from the Egyptian authorities to build a pottery factory and a two-room house. In '68, '74, and '81, I built three more rooms and a store." Idris said none of the camp residents have applied for construction permits on their homes many of which were built before Israeli occupation. He said families had to add on extra rooms because of births, marriages and other additions to the family. Government "red tape" made it difficult to get a building license, he said.

Another homeowner, Khamis Salem Ziadeh, told *Al Fajr* that families who have not received building licenses must live all together in one house. He said there are now three families in the camp living in a five-room home built in 1976.

Jabalya homeowners affected by the military order include: Khaled Abu Safieh, Idris Defda', Jamal Taramseh, Mohammed Ajouri, Khamis Ziadeh, Mohammed Taramseh, Naim Taramseh, Zidan Taramseh, and Said Taramseh.

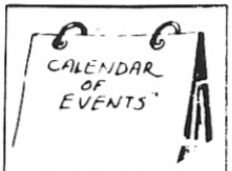
WB, Gaza Figures Attend Weinberger Party

A number of West Bank and Gaza officials were present at a cocktail party October 17 held for visiting US defence minister Caspar Weinberger by Israeli defence minister Yitzhak Rabin. Invitations to the events were delivered to the officials by the various heads of the Israeli civil administration.

The elected mayor of Bethlehem, Elias Freij, was present at the party, along with the mayor of Beit Jala, Farrah Araj; mayor of Jericho, Jamil Khalaf; mayor of Qalqilya, Abdel Rahman Abu Sneineh; mayor of Rafah, Suleiman Zuroub; and mayor of Khan Yunis, Zare' Astal, all of whom were appointed by the civil administration. Also in attendance was Mohammed Rashed Ja'abari, head of Hebron department of education; Jamil Amleh, head of the Hebron village league; and Ramadan Hija, member of the recently revived Jordanian parliament.

Israel Radio reported that Weinberger met with the West Bank and Gaza personalities and discussed the best way to resume "the peace process." Freij told *Al Fajr*, however, that he had no meetings with the US official. "We simply shook hands and returned home," he said.

Araj said that the Palestinians were among a group of 1,000 who attended. "Weinberger and Rabin came late, we were introduced, shook hands and left," he said.



October 20, 21, 23, 24

At the *Nuzha/El-Hakawati* Theatre October 20, 21, 23, 24 8:00 pm. Due to the unavailability of *Hanna K — El-Hakawati* presents *Khamsin* — a film that courageously looks at Arab and Jewish relations. For information and ticket reservation phone: (02) 280957

October 24

Silwan — Lecture on the care and protection of the newborn child by Shatha Odeh. 5:00 pm. Silwan Club.

Military Renew Watch on Shaka'a

Former Nablus mayor Bassam Shaka'a was placed under a 24-hour surveillance by the military October 11 in a renewed attempt to prevent him from practicing politics. Shaka'a told *Al Fajr* the recent measure "is part of policy intended to expel Palestinian nationalist forces and replace them with collaborators."

Shaka'a's moves inside Nablus, have been closely watched by an Israeli border patrol for four years now. The patrol, however, was taken away four months ago but is now back in place. The mayor who was elected in 1976 but dismissed by the military government in 1982 for refusing to cooperate with it, said he was never given a reason for the continuous military surveillance on him and his family members. He said he was not told about the removal of the patrol four months ago and similarly was not informed about its reinstatement.

Shaka'a lawyer Felicia Langer filed a complaint October 14 with the Israeli district attorney and sent copies of it to human rights organisations explaining the 'harassment' caused Shaka'a by the presence of the military patrol at his door-step.

Shaka'a explained the harassment and said that on their first day of duty the soldiers "kicked his garage door all night causing disturbances, called him bad names and cursed him and his family." He said that the patrol follows him wherever he goes in the city and stops people who greet him to question them.

This measure comes following a short period of easing of restrictions on nationalist forces in the occupied territories including the lifting of town arrst orders on some figures. Shaka'a said this easing of restrictions came however, with a strong warning from the militay not to get involved in any political activities. He said he was especially warned not to attempt to revive the National Guidance Committee in the occupied lands. He said West Bank figures were threatened by Shmuel Goren, the military coordinator for the occupied lands, that he will "return the iron fist stronger than ever before" if they (the nationalist figures) return to politics.

Bassam Shaka'a

JEC Forced to Buy Expensive Israeli Electricity

A Jerusalem district court issued an injunction October 14 in which it allows the Israel Electric Company to seize funds belonging to the Palestinian-operated Jerusalem Electric Company. The funds, totalling JD400,000 equal the monthly amount the JEC pays to the IEC in exchange for its electricity supply.

The JEC signed an agreement with the IEC which stated that the JEC would buy electricity from the IEC and pay for it on a monthly basis. But since JEC customers pay their bills once every two months, the JEC has difficulties paying the IEC on time. The IEC rejects the Palestinian company's reasoning and has made several attempts in the past to legally entangle the JEC, claim JEC officials. This time the Israeli company has succeeded.

JEC officials maintain that the company has extended new supply lines to 90 villages within its jurisdiction. The company has also purchased five new generators that were needed to supply electricity to these villages. This has caused an increase in the company's expenditures and deficit, they claim.

Israeli authorities, who at first refused to issue a permit to the JEC to use the new generators, forced them into a compromise, say JEC officials. The compromise was that permits will be issued if the JEC buys a certain amount of electricity from the Israeli company.

Anwar Nuseibeh, head of the Jerusalem Electric Company, maintained that the JEC is able to be self sufficient and that it does not need to buy any electricity from the Israeli company. "But we had to compromise in order to use the new generators and serve our customers," he said. He continued, "We have never been late on our payments to the IEC more than five days. The IEC takes interest on the amount owed and then takes us to court. It has done this several times since our compromise."

Student Strike Continues, Board Won't Budge

The fall semester at Bir Zeit University, though officially declared open, has not practically begun.

Studies at the University have been suspended as a result of the continued student strike in protest of a tuition hike for first-year students.

Student representatives have held a 24-hour sit-in strike since October 15 at the new university campus near Ramallah. On October 17 students held a rally in which national institutions were invited to participate. A statement was then signed by over 60 national institutions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip supporting the students' demands.

The striking students are demanding:

* cancellation of the tuition hike;

* a raising of the number of students given special status. This applies to students whose academic qualifications have been affected by occupation in some way, such as serving time in prison. The university admits a certain number of such students despite lower exam scores.

* an end to the arbitrary firing of university employees. The university board recently dismissed six employees for what they termed "financial reasons."

* a cancellation of the admission quota based on geographic location. Students demand that university admission be based on academic criteria, not on accepting a certain number from each area in the West Bank and Gaza.

Samir Sbeihat, head of the BZU student council, told *Al Fajr* that the university's board of trustees is not interested in the university's welfare but instead is trying to weaken the student body's power. Sbeihat also accused university officials of trying to turn Bir Zeit into an elitist institution. He cited the university's previous attempt to raise the grade scale, to increase tuition and to ignore the mention of the student council in the university's annual guide. He also noted that last year the university admitted 33 students on special status but has reduced the quota this year to 10.

Dr. Gabi Baramki, acting university president, responded to Sbeihat's charges saying that the university's mandate has not deviated and that students are raising minor issues to cover the fact that their protest of a tuition hike is no longer valid. Baramki said all the problems are solveable but that the board of trustees will not retract from the tuition hike. He said the problems do not necessitate a strike and that he does understand student fears that tuition hikes could become an annual measure. Baramki said the administration is ready to agree on a future freeze on tuition hikes, but "at present we insist on the hikes which only affect students able to pay." He said that students and administration have agreed on a formula to deal with students unable to pay.

Regarding the alleged power struggle, Baramki admitted that this was the real reason behind the strike. He said the student council believes that it is above the law and refuses to accept the board of trustees' authority as the highest governing body in the university. Baramki said that students were given a free reign to operate "because this is part of Bir Zeit's message," but, he continued, "they have gone over the limit and they must be returned to their right place."

The student strike began October 6. On October 11 the university administration closed the university and reopened October 15. Since then, students have continued their strike.

BZU students sit-in at the Ramallah campus in protest of an administration tuition hike. A/O photo.

Brokers Try Tricking Jaba' Landowner

An attempt by land brokers to talk a 75-year-old Palestinian man into selling his 18-dunum plot, and the subsequent appearance of Israeli surveyors on this same land has worried the owners that a case of land fraud may be in the offing.

Mohammed Awad Mubarak told *Al Fajr* that two Arab land brokers came to his elderly father at his Hizma home two months ago and attempted to purchase his land located in the village of Jaba'. Ramallah. Mubarak said his father refused to sell and did not sign any papers, but feared the land would fall into Israeli hands. One of the brokers, Mubarak said, is known to have sold land in the past to Israelis who later built a settlement on it.

Mubarak reported that a few days after the brokers' visit Israeli surveyors were seen by neighbours surveying his father's land. He fears a possible forging of land deeds has taken place and the land has been sold to Israelis.

However, a check at the land registration department in Ramallah revealed that the land is still registered in Mubarak's name and no transaction has been recorded. Whether there was a transaction that did not go through the registration department or not is not known. Such sales, which bypass the usual channels, have been reported in the past. Such cases usually end up in courts.

The 18-dunum lot has been planted every year for generations with wheat.

BBC Journalist Refused Press Card

For nearly two years now, a BBC correspondent has been denied an Israeli press card to cover her West Bank beat. Jan Ziff, a freelance reporter from Israeli-occupied West Bank since January 1983, told *Al Fajr* that the Israeli Government Press Office (GPO) in Jerusalem has denied her a press card normally granted automatically to reporters stationed in Israel.

Ziff said she has applied for the press card several times but is always told her "situation is being reviewed." She complained that the denial of an official press ID is due to her reporting about the situation on the West Bank. Ziff is the only foreign reporter specifically assigned to cover West Bank affairs. All other correspondents in Palestine include the West Bank in their general coverage of Israel or the Middle East.

Eric Bowman, head of the BBC Arabic Service in London, sent a letter to Ziff, in which he identified her status as a daily BBC contributor. The letter dated March 22 was to be used by Ziff in obtaining a press card from Israeli authorities. In the letter, merely addressed "To whom it may concern," Bowman said Ziff "is an accredited contributor of the BBC Arabic Service and as such reports from the West Bank on a daily basis." After receipt of Bowman's letter, Ziff handcarried it to the GPO once again requesting a press card.

Morton Dolinsky, GPO director, apparently considered the letter's non-committal salutation as a rebuff of GPO authority and also objected to Bowman's use of the term "West Bank." In a written response, Dolinsky said, "I have checked the official registry of banks in Israel and have found no bank of that name." Dolinsky apparently preferred the BBC to call the West Bank by the name the Israeli government recently bestowed on it: 'Judea and Samaria.' Dolinsky added in his letter. "If you would be so kind as to clarify Miss Ziff's status with the BBC, as well as her area of assignment, we would be more than happy to have the board review her accreditation."

Gossip columnist Mark Segal in a regular Friday column for *The Jerusalem Post* picked up on the story, apparently on a tip from Dolinsky. In a June 29 column, Segal wrote: "Has the BBC recognised the Government Press Office? Apparently not, judging from the letter from E.R. Bowman."

Ziff believes all this "runaround" she is receiving from the GPO and Dolinsky's aggravated response to Bowman's letter is the result of growing Israeli anger over BBC reports about the occupied territories. Israel, she said has not been pleased with BBC coverage of the West Bank, especially since coverage of the poisoning of school girls in the spring of 1983. The Israeli press office apparently wants the BBC to operate through guidelines set by the GPO for foreign reporting from the occupied territories.

Ziff said she was accused in Segal's column of signing off her BBC reports with "the occupied West Bank." She strongly denied this, saying she never used the word "occupied" in signing off, but only "the West Bank."

Several attempts by *Al Fajr* to reach Dolinsky for comment failed. Dolinsky is to be replaced November 1 by a Labour Party nominee, Israel Pelek. Ziff hopes that things will be better for her when Pelek takes over the GPO. Ziff currently carries a white press card issued as a temporary ID for part-time reporters. She said that everytime she shows the card to police she has to spend hours explaining why she carries a press card different than all other reporters. The full-time press card is plastic, while visiting reporters are issued yellow cards.

The BBC currently has two full-time reporters operating in Palestine, one for radio and the other for televison. The two reporters are accredited by the GPO.

Concern over Refugees in Lebanon, Budget Problems

"UNRWA's ability to continue playing a central role in the lives of over two million registered Palestine refugees is seriously threatened," said commissioner-general Olof Rydbeck in his annual report for the year ending June 30, 1984. It marked the end of UNRWA's twelfth mandate as a temporary agency. "In 1985, UNRWA needs some US$230 million in cash at a time when contributors are prepared to grant it only about US$170 million for 1984."

Concern continues for the safety of Palestine refugees in Lebanon, said Rydbeck in his report. During the year, bouts of factional and intra-Palestinian conflict, punctuated by an Israeli air raid on Wavell camp in Ba'albeck, brought death and destruction to the areas where Palestine refugees were concentrated in the north, the east and in the Beirut area. And in the south, there was an almost daily toll with reports of violent deaths, woundings, arrests, kidnappings, disappearances, evictions under threat and explosions.

Part of the budget increase is due to additional staff costs of US$21 million resulting from pay surveys conducted by the international civil service commission. The surveys were conducted in an effort to ensure that UNRWA's almost 17,000 staff in the Middle East are paid fairly according to local conditions.

Lebanon War Emergency Programme Ends

UNRWA's emergency programme in Lebanon ended this year although UNRWA continued to give emergency rations to 158,750 registered and unregistered Palestine refugees in Lebanon, and displaced refugees in Syria until March 1984. A further 36,085 refugees affected in the Tripoli area received food aid and other assistance for two months at the end of 1983.

Some 24,000 "hardship" cases in Lebanon will continue to receive food rations.

Olof Rydbeck

The cost of the emergency programme over the 22 months since Israel's invasion was US$60.3 million, including US$10.5 million for additional medical services and US$17.3 million for repairing and rebuilding refugee housing. This was over and above the US$50.5 million spent during the same period on regular programmes in Lebanon.

Although the emergency programme has ended, the US$13 million first phase of reconstruction is continuing. So far US$10.2 million has been contributed to the fund.

UNRWA committed 64 percent of its US$195.3 million expenditure in 1983 to education and training. During the 1983-84 academic year, the agency operated 653 schools with 10,027 teachers for 342,245 pupils up to the age of 15 and eight vocational and teacher training centres for 3,720 young people in vocational and technical courses and 1,330 in teacher training. Siblin Training Centre in Lebanon remained closed during the year although 153 students received some training in Beirut and Sidon. Further looting and damage to the school took place in Autumn 1983 and at the end of the reporting period the school was still occupied by militiamen of the Progressive Socialist Party.

Twenty percent of UNRWA's 1983 budget provided health care for refugees at 98 general health units. Supporting the work of these units were 27 laboratories, nine maternity centres, 29 dental clinics and 1,388 hospital beds subsidised by UNRWA.

Relief activities, outside the emergency efforts in Lebanon, accounted for almost 10 percent of UNRWA's 1983 expenditure. Once the general ration programme was suspended, relief workers concentrated on assistance to the poorest among the 2,034,314 registered Palestine refugees (35 percent or 763,773 of whom live in 61 refugee camps). The 97,213 hardship cases, which include widows, orphans and the aged, received help for food, clothing and housing needs.

Mixed Haifa Crowd Boos Kahane

More than 1000 Arab and Jewish residents of Haifa heckled racist Kach leader, MK Meir Kahane, as he attempted to speak against Arab-Jewish coexistence in the city October 14.

Kahane, who is leading a campaign to expel all Arabs from Israel and the occupied lands, arrived at Beit al-Karmeh neighbourhood centre in the early afternoon accompanied by a handful of followers and a large police escort to protect him against possible attacks by angry demonstrators. The protestors began gathering at the site where Kahane was planning to speak earlier in the day and wasted no time in booing and attacking him with anti-racist slogans.

Attempting to speak over the heckling, Kahane said, "I arrived in Haifa to visit Beit al-Karmeh which is like a whorehouse that brings Arabs and Jews together." He said the centre was used as a place for intermarriage among Arabs and Jews and for the breaking down of needed barriers between the two communities.

Al Ittihad Arabic daily reported October 15 that police attacked several protestors who tried to reach Kahane and arrested three of them. Two were later released. (Translation: Al Ittihad, October 15).

Nazareth City Employees Strike, Demand Pay

Unpaid Nazareth municipality employees struck October 17 for one day to express resentment over the bankrupted state of the municipality treasury. The municipality's employees have yet to receive their salaries for the month of September.

Nazareth municipality workers also struck for one day in September demanding the immediate payment of IS150 million budget by the interior ministry into the municipality's treasury. The Israeli interior ministry agreed to pay IS100 million into the municipality's account. However only 40 million was merely transferred to the account, but not released for use by the municipality.

Municipal workers plan an open strike to begin on October 22 if they don't receive their salaries by then.

A source in the Nazareth municipality explained that the current financial crisis is a general crisis from which other municipal councils also suffer. What complicates the situation for Nazareth, however, is the ministry's delay in transferring funds on time and the erosion of the funds' value due to constant inflation and their not being adjusted to the rising cost of services. Nazareth municipality spokesman, Ziad al-Fahoum, said Israeli authorities must pay the municipality IS250 million.

Nazareth mayor Tawfiq Zayyad sent a telegramme to the general director of the finance ministry demanding his immediate interference to help the muncipality in solving its financial crisis.

In a related story, 67 employees in the Kufr Yasif municipal council in the Western Galilee also plan a strike for October 22 if Israeli authorities do not pay their September salaries. Thirty seven teachers in Kufr Yasif struck last week because they had not yet received their pay. (Translation: Al-Sha'ab October, 18, 1984)

The Dawn

AL FAJR

AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor:
Hanna Siniora

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
East Jerusalem

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. **The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630)** is published weekly for $50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead. N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street, N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies
Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies
Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies Apologies

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Prime minister Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Shamir discuss the unity government in King David Hotel. Outside Parents Against Silence demonstrate carrying signs saying "You are still quarreling about the government while our sons are being killed in Lebanon."

Unity Government Drifts to the Right

by Michal Schwarz

Inspite of the fact that it is being led by a self-styled social democrat, the new government is both the most incompetent and the most right-wing ever to be formed in the history of the state. Twelve of its members hail from the Likud — National Religious Party (NRP) — Morasha bloc. The Labour Alignment underwent major surgery and emerged with Yigal Horowitz, Ezer Weizman, Aryeh Neham'kin and Peretz — all of whom are supporters of the 'Greater Land of Israel' — firmy ensconsed in the party establishment, along with the two Yitzhaks, — Rabin and Navon — both confirmed hawks. Against this configuration, Rafi (Israel Worker's List) politicians like Peres and Yacobi appear to hold extreme left-wing positions.

The inner cabinet (which will function as a government within a government) resembles nothing so much as a war council; it includes one terrorist (Shamir); four former ministers of defence (Sharon, Arens, Peres and Rabin) a former army chief of staff (Bar Lev); a former air-force commander (Weizman); an advisor on Arab affairs (Navon); and two indistinguished civilians (Levi and Moda'i). The government does not include a single person who abstained from voting in favour of the war, let alone anyone who opposed it.

The Labour Alignment has changed its appearance. Mapam, which has sputtered on about socialist Zionism for years, far removed from the realities of Israeli society, safe and secure in its kibbutz ghetto, has been jettisoned by the Alignment and flung onto the rubbish heap of history. Aloni and Sarid — the other impediments to the formation of the government — were also eased out of the way. In their place came the supporters of the Greater Land of Israel, the architects of the historic accord between the Alignment and the Likud; namely, Weizman and Horowitz. Not that they were not preceded by other deserters from the 'National Camp'; only a short while ago, Peretz and Linn left the Likud to join the Labour Party. Doves like Eban and Harel were elbowed out of positions of power, and men like Naham'kin — who believes that Kahane is right on certain issues — received a ministerial volvo in their stead. As regards Rabin, Gur and Bar Lev, their aspirations to peaceful co-existence boil down to their service in the army.

Everyone is talking about the 'chemistry' betwen Peres and the old Etzel chief — Shamir. It was apparent in Peres' opening speech when he called for gentlemanly debate and a new style of tolerance. Although he avoided polemics with the Likud, Victor Shem Tov — the leader of the dwindling opposition — came in for criticism.

The 'chemistry' between Shamir and Peres was not a matter of love at first sight; it was rather based on a reading of Israeli realities and sensitivity to American pressure. Uncle Ronnie Reagan promised the Shamir-Peres duo a sizeable cash prize if they could overcome their petty differences and pitch in to pull Israel out of the mud. As far as compensation goes, America enticed them with emergency aid, enlarged grants, free trade zone status, and Israeli arms deals. However, it was not simply a matter of economic coercion.

The Alignment was given the job of consolidating the successes of the Likud, whose adventuristic policies rocked the Israeli ship of state. The Alignment must thus ensure that the fruits of the Sabra and Shatila war are not lost, massacre or no massacre; the South Lebanese Army must be firmly established in southern Lebanon in order to guarantee Israeli control there. At the same time, military pressure on Syria and American diplomatic might are seen as the best way to bring Syria around to recognizing Israel's legitimate interests in southern Lebanon.

The new government has also been given the task of consolidating and fortifying existing settlements without annexing the West Bank... for the meantime. Also, it must breathe some life into the civil administration, and seek out partners willing to cooperate with Israel on the basis of the Camp David peace accords. The state will not take any initiative regarding a solution and will try to exploit any splits in the PLO. And of course, everything will be tied up tight by the strategic pact between Israel and the US whereby Israel will be harnassed to Reagan's anti-Communist crusade.

The meaning of "ideological debate and practical cooperation" seems to imply that the Alignment will continue the policies of the Likud and in two years time obediently turn the reigns of government over to Shamir (if not Sharon) and wait for the next inevitable step: war against Syria and the annexation of the West Bank.

In his opening address Peres steered clear of fundamental issues; the future of the Palestinians on the West Bank, Lebanese sovereignty in southern Lebanon, terror on the West Bank, fascism, racism, the UN resolution calling for an immediate Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon and the right of the Palestinians to self-determination were passed over in silence. In contrast, he didn't forget to ask Amnon Rubinstein to Hebraicise his name nor did he fail to reconfirm his commitment to the peace of the Galilee. The Alignment has become Shamir and Sharon's last hope and, conversely, a graveyard for those doves who mistakenly believed that the Labour Party could bring about a change in Israel.

Inspite of election results, the majority of Israelis support the ideology of the Likud. The great majority of Oriental Jews identify with the Likud and, if they are not satisified with it, turn to Cohen, Eitan or Kahane rather than to the left. The clerical forces, who hold sway over 12 seats, have all taken a pronounced turn to nationalist extremism, causing a series of splits (i.e. Shas breaking off from Agudat Yisrael and Morasha from the NRP). Young Israelis are by and large right-wing and don't understand "why Judea and Samaria should be given to the Arabs." It seems as though the future belongs to the defenders of the 'Greater Land of Israel' and that socialist-Zionism is and has been irrelevant for quite some time.

So it is that Shamir is Peres' last hope; inspite of the fact that Peres won a majority of the votes, he has been forced to act as though the Alignment is in the minority. Not only did he grant Shamir equal reresentation in the inner cabinet, he also ruled out any policy that cannot get government backing; and in a government in which supporters of the 'Greater Land of Israel' are prominent, this is a very meaningful step. Finally, Peres agreed to share the role of prime minister with Shamir.

The only way Peres can lead the Alignment to majority status is by deflecting Herut to the margins and absorbing the Liberals and other moderates in the Likud in order to form a centrist bloc. This process got under way with the assimilation of Horowitz and Weizman into Labour.

For Peres, the necessity of changing horses is not solely a result of the constellation of forces which emerged from the election, but springs from the recognition of political trends in Israel. Peace Now, Mapam, and Ratz have been thrown off like so much deadweight. Having failed in their mission of toppling the Likud, the Labour Party has no further use for them. Their positions are being filled by Rubinstein, Weizman and the anti-Sharon forces in the Likud. A new era has dawned.

The Zionist doves have suffered a series of setbacks. The ejection of Mapam and Sarid from the Alignment were events that the left has been anxiously awaiting for a long time. But when it came, the principle actors were too tired, worn out and disappointed by the mother party to do more than express their hope that the Labour Party would recognize its folly and re-establish its historic union with Mapam. Whoever expected a trenchant analysis and ideological debate which could form the groundwork for a new left-wing force in Israel must have been sorely disappointed. "Shimon Peres is a dear friend of mine and I'm happy he's finally become prime minister," said Sarid. Yakov Hazan of Mapam reiterated his view that "We have more in common than we have separating us" and that "The Labour Party is the heart of the Israeli left." Indeed, Sarid originally supported the national unity government and left the Labour Party only after they "had gone too far." Mapam had protested from the start, but allowed Peres enough rope to play around with before they finally packed their bags.

The right-wing trend in Labour and the new independence of the Zionist doves does not augur well for the latter, for they have now lost their natural base. As the Histadrut falls into line with the new consensus, it now appears that Sarid was the only dove to leave the Labour Party. The writers who pushed the idea of national unity and the support it received in "dovish" circles point to the fact that rather than being on the verge of a new chapter, the Zionist doves are on the verge of bankruptcy.

A quick examination of the fate of those who left the Labour Party's hearth reveals that a left-wing Zionist party has never succeeded in establishing any real foothold in Israeli society and that those who left the Labour Party gradually lost all influence over the public. Who would have ever expected that Lova Eliav — a one time secretary general of the Labour Party — would be rejected by his own party and have no choice but to form his own list in order to force himself upon it, only to find that he lacked public support? Likewise, the fate of those who left MAKI and banded together with former members of Siah (Israeli New Left) was not much better. They underwent a series of metamorphoses, from Moked to Shelli, winning two Knesset seats in 1977 only to lose them in 1981, an object lesson in the inability of a left-wing Zionist party to establish itself.

There was of course a party whose establishment was greeted with a great deal of fanfare: Shinui, the party which set out to change the order of things. Today, it is a slavish junior partner to the Peres-Shamir government. The only party which has actually gained a foothold outside of Labour is Shulamit Aloni's Ratz Party. And that was accomplished inspite of a surplus vote agreement with the Alignment and the party's presentation of itself as an appendage of the larger bloc. Ratz never really sought organisational and ideological independence, but has now been forced to behave as such. The forecast which gave Mapam, Ratz and Sarid 15 seats in a projected Knesset bloc seems

continued on page 15

Beit Amin Struggles For Existence After 700 Years

The 700-year-old village of Beit Amin is caught in a bind between inscrupulous Arab landbrokers and ambitious Israeli real estate companies. *Al Fajr's* Baher al-Ashhab visited the villagers who are in great danger of losing their lands.

"I call upon every organisation in the West Bank, Israel and abroad, human rights movements, journalists and international relief groups to come to our aid. Come see our devastated lands and ruined trees. Help us retrieve our rights and dignity." The speaker is Abdullah Ahmad Umar, a Palestinian from the village of Beit Amin. His land was sold illegally through an Arab broker to an Israeli settler in August 1984.

Abdullah woke up one morning last August to the sound of bulldozers and heavy trucks nearby. He went to investigate only to witness a mass destruction of his olive tree grove and the leveling of his land. A fence was going up around the land of his cousin Seif al-Din Umar, and several other lands were being worked on. Abdullah anxiously asked the Israeli crew why they were destroying his only property and source of livelihood. He was told his land had been sold to Mr. Ze'evOnnand that he was not to interfere or they would call in the police.

Abdullah hurriedly went to the military governor in neighbouring Tulkarm. He was told to go to the local police; the case they said, was not a military one. At the police station he was received indifferently and told to get a lawyer. Abdullah not only hired a lawyer; he contacted the Red Cross, the Quakers and most Palestinian and Israeli newspapers. He also helped organise the residents of Beit Amin to fight against the colonisation of their lands and the possible usurpation of the whole village. I went to Beit Amin, as a journalist for **Al Fajr,** *On October 7 to investigate.*

The Journey to Beit Amin

During the last week I had read what I could about the Beit Amin problem. It was little enough. The only source seemed to be a book entitled *Practices of Dispersion and Land Confiscation in the Occupied Territories* by Israeli advocate Felicia Langer. The book is a sympathetic description of Palestinian sufferings under Israeli occupation. Otherwise I found nothing but occasional news items, all unsatisfactory, about a problem that every Palestinian community may have to deal with sooner or later.

I found it imperative that I visit Beit Amin and meet the parties involved. What I didn't expect is that the trip would take half a day and that I was to come face to face with a story involving fraud, deceit and treason.

I rose early the morning of October 7. I took a service taxi to Nablus, a road I have travelled only once before. With the curves and turns, the going uphill and down at 100 kph, the trip did not leave me at ease.

In Nablus, an hour and a half later, I took another service taxi, this time to the city of Qalqilya. This trip, I must say was more enjoyable, although I couldn't help but feel irritated at the six other passengers all of whom argued persistently with the driver for not allowing them to smoke during the one-hour trip.

In Qalqilya, a small city west of Nablus, I searched for means of transportation to Beit Amin. I was informed that though the village is only seven kilometres southeast of Qalqilya, I would pay IS4000 for a call taxi. The high cost of travel is because the paved road ends halfway to be continued by a rocky, narrow byway.

I took a service taxi to the halfway point where the village of Azoun is situated. I bought a cold bottle of orange juice and started walking in the direction of Beit Amin. I was intrigued by the idea of walking through the mountains in search of a remote village. There was a Bohemian touch to the idea which energised me.

The sun in mid-sky and the warm temperature were not to slow me down. What I was heading towards was a village with a history of 700 years. It was also, as I discovered from my readings, the burial place of Benjamin, the son of Jacob. The possibility of this village becoming extinct filled me with sorrow and anger.

The road was, as described by Qalqilya residents, rocky and narrow, but also utterly peaceful and welcoming. It sloped through rocky hills and abundant olive tree and orange groves. I felt privileged to be alone on that road: the same road Benjamin had probably travelled on, the same road villagers of Beit Amin had commuted on for 700 years. It was still their only means of communication with the outside world.

An hour through my walk, I began to hear a shepherd's *Nai* (flute) and sounds of sheep. High above I could see a couple of TV antennaes and wash lines. Soon I came into full view of what turned out to be the whole village of Beit Amin — about 50 houses made of clay and bricks, surrounded by olive trees.

As I began to ascend the steep slope, I noticed on my right two half-built modern structures. The land around them resembled the aftermath of an earthquake. The area was rubble, huge rocks and olive trees lying on the surface of the earth, a scene in direct contrast with the left side of the road, which was symmetrically-shaped and natural.

I was met by several village women carrying earthen jars on their heads, on their way to fetch water from a nearby well. They directed me to the house of Abdullah Umar, a man, they claimed, who knows all about their villages' problem. He is the village spokesman.

Fortunately Abdullah was at home. He received me with open arms and ordered his children, who gathered to look at the stranger with the camera, to bring water and a towel. He asked his wife to kill two hens and prepare dinner for both of us.

After I eagerly washed the dust off my face and arms, he directed me to the living room. He gave me time to gather my strength, brought me refreshments and coffee, and soon began satisfying my thirst for information about his village and its land troubles.

Abdullah was a thin, but strong man in his late thirties. He seemed energetic and intelligent. He spoke to me in classical Arabic in such a powerful and effective manner that I found it hard to believe he only had a fifth grade education. I was certain that I had come to the right source and that my long journey would not end in disappointment. As I pushed the buttons of my tape recorder, Abdullah Umar began to speak.

Beit Amin villagers stand on their 'confiscated' lands holding ownership documents in their hands.

The Sumsar

"Our land troubles began in October 1981," said Abdullah "when a man called Farid Abu Hijle, from the neighbouring village of Sanira, sold 34 dunums to an Arab *Sumsar* (land broker)."

Ahmad Odeh, the most active *Sumsar* in the occupied territories, is reputed to have made a large fortune dealing in Arab land which he turned over to Israeli real estate companies. Odeh lives lavishly in the nearby village of Hableh, the centre of village league activity for the Qalqilya area, where he owns a large estate securely fenced in and drives a bullet-proof mercedes. Odeh was in fact sentenced to death by an absentee court in Amman, for working against the Palestinians and getting Arabs to sign documents effectively selling their lands to Israel.

"Twelve dunums and 600 metres of the 34 dunums obtained by the *sumsar* were sold previously," said Abdullah, "in 1976, to my cousin Seif al-Din Umar by Farid Abu Hijle. This is a proof of his ownership." Abdullah took out a paper from a large file and handed it to me. The paper was signed and stamped by a district court in Nablus. It said "Seif al-Din Umar is the legal owner of lot number..."

Abdullah again took up his story: "When we heard of the deal between the *Sumsar* and Abu Hijle, Seif al-Din and I rushed to meet with the military governor of Tulkarm Moshel Sufi. He demanded to see ownership documents. He reacted angrily and ordered us to obtain three more documents and a legal map. He then demanded to see a *tabo* (a document used by the old Turkish system). We explained to him that none of the area's 26,555 land owners possess a *tabo*. He said that since we don't own a *tabo*, it was his right to take over our lands.

"The next morning several bulldozers were working on our agricultural lots and several modern structures began to rise upon our fields. That was the beginning of the Israeli settlement Sha'av Hatikva (a Hebrew expression meaning 'the gate of hope')." This settlement not only stands on the 34 dunums in question , but also swallowed 460 additional dunums owned and farmed by residents of Beit Amin and two other nearby villages — Sanira and Azoun. Abdullah told me this as he pointed to a map.

"We hurried back to the military governor," he said, "hoping that he would listen to our complaints. We were again referred to Qalqilya's police. At the police station, an officer requested that we sign a paper. It was written in Hebrew, a language we can't read. We refused. The officer grew angry and asked us to leave his office and never to come back.

"Three days later, in mid-October 1981, the military governor of Tulkarm accompanied by two dozen soldiers and policemen drove into our village. He demanded a meeting with every man between the ages of 14 to 66. At the meeting, the governor crudely insulted us, calling us dogs and donkeys. He also threatened us with mass arrest and the cutting off of our electricity supply. We told him that we will never let go of lands we have owned for 700 years."

The same day, the police arrested the villages *mukhtar*, his son and his nephew. They were each put in jail for 17 days, charged by a military court with incitement, fined JD60 and sentenced to two years suspended. The *mukhtar's* authority was also taken away, Abdullah maintained. The villagers had no choice but to hire a lawyer, so Qalqilya's advocate Hisham al-Nasr took the case to court.

"Again, in August, 1984, we learned that a man called Ibrahim Suleiman sold his land at the entrance of Beit Amin to *sumsar* Ahmad Odeh," said Abdullah. "His land lot number 107 is 12 dunums and 400 metres, and is well-defined by narrow roads on all four sides. We were also shocked to see work crews working on the lands around Suleiman's lot.

"A man called Ze'ev Onn was building a fence around a nearby lot. I went and spoke to him. He explained to me that he had bought this lot from an Israeli real estate company. He had paid US$14,000 for the lot. We agreed to meet at the police station the next day. There the police officer requested that Mr. Onn show his papers. They were

continued on page 13

The economy of the occupied territories has suffered the loss of what all must lose under foreign occupation — its independence. In this first of two articles, Awad Abdel Fattah examines the crippling effect Israeli occupation has had on Palestinian exports, a crucial part of any functioning economy.

Israel Squeezes Life Out of West Bank, Gazan Exports

The occupied territories have been facing a unique situation in terms of exports and other trade relations for the last 17 years of Israeli occupation. The exports of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which consisted of a healthy market in Europe and the Arab world prior to 1967, are faced now with a decreasing market because of stringent Israeli restrictions.

Whereas Israel has the full freedom to dump its goods in the occupied territories with no restrictions whatsoever, Palestinians are virtually not allowed to trade in the Israeli market. What little outside trade remains is also either conducted through Israeli ports or is subject to Israeli control and direction. Direct trade hardly exist for the occupied territories. As a result, and because of the forced integration of the Palestinian economy into the Israeli one, the occupied territories have become a mere market for Israeli communities and a pool of cheap labourers for Israeli production sectors rather than a separate economy which deals with a neighbouring economy on an equal basis.

Since 1967 trade between Israel and the occupied territories has been restricted from the Palestinian end to protect Israeli agriculture either by limiting the flow of Arab agricultural produce into Israel or by subsidising Israeli agricultural production, thus allowing the Israelis to produce a cheaper orange, for instance. In the early years of the occupation, restrictions on the shipments of vegetables from the West Bank to Israel were very harsh. The Israelis alleged that these restrictions were imposed to minimise the so-called security problems associated with the movements of goods, besides the need to protect their own agriculture. But in later years trade in agricultural products was freer as restrictions were limited only to those selected crops which were also grown in Israel, such as dates and grapes.

In addition to the virtual one-way trade relationship between the occupied territories and Israel, there has been no real independent development of the Palestinian economy resulting in an economy almost totally dependent on the occupying power. One Palestinian economist told *Al Fajr* that the absence of an industrial base and restrictive Israeli policies on indigenous industrial development have also not helped the West Bank and Gaza economy or allowed for the expansion of Palestinian exports. The Israeli military occupation authorities do not provide aid to Palestinian producers or industries which is offered to Israeli industry in the form of subsidies, minimum price guarantees and free marketing. Therefore the residents of the occupied territories are not free to control their economy and are forced to trade with Israel regardless of whether or not the terms of trade are in their favour.

The Agricultural Exports

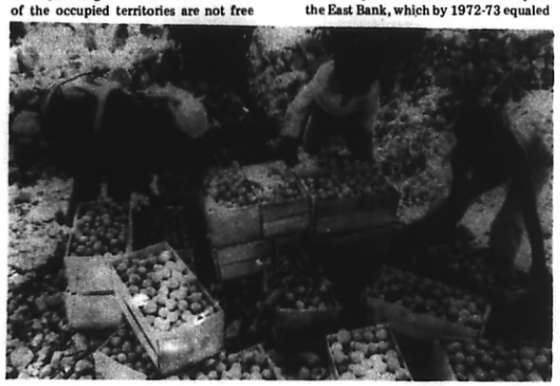
Before 1967, the exports of the West Bank and Gaza Strip were predominantly agricultural or processed products derived from the agricultural produce such as olive oil and oil-based soap. The commodity trade between the East and West Banks was mainly in agricultural products. The Jordanian economy, with small income and little industrial development, was heavily dependent on imports as a source of most of its industrial products.

The West Bank exported vegetables and fruit to Jordan, to other Arab states and to Europe. According to a report on *The Agriculture and Water In the West Bank and Gaza* prepared by Dr. David Kahan, in 1965 sales from the West Bank to the East Bank were estimated at JD1.5 million. About half the sales consisted of vegetables (tomatoes and potatoes), and half of fruit (citrus, grapes and watermelons). West Bank exports to foreign countries was also estimated at JD1.5 million in 1965.

The same report points out that the agricultural output of the West Bank in 1966 was estimated at nearly US$48 million. This included fruit, vegetables, field crops and livestock. The field crops of the West Bank consisted mainly of wheat, barley and other grains. In a rainy year the output of wheat and barley reached some 80,000 tons while in a dry year it dropped to 35,000 tons. The harvest of olives accounted for 35 percent of all agricultural production, while citrus products accounted for 37 percent of total exports. The exports were directed from Gaza to Egypt, and from the West Bank to the East Bank. What trade there was with foreign countries thus had to go through these Arab channels. Before 1967 most of the Gaza Strip's citrus exports which constituted 70 percent of its total exports, went to Eastern Europe and Britain.

After '67

A report on the economy of the West Bank covering the period from 1967 to 1973 prepared by Brian Van Arkadi shows that the structure of exports during those early years to the East Bank and Europe remained basically unchanged. It explains that the relative importance of citrus export increased from 19 percent of the exports in 1968 to 30 percent in 1972-73. This, says the report, also reflects the development of citrus exports from the Gaza Strip to the East Bank, which by 1972-73 equaled 37000 tons or 17 percent of total Gaza production. The report indicated that other items during that period suffered "a compensating decline in relative importance e.g. other fruits, vegetables and quarried stones."



Palestinian villagers harvest and prepare plums for shipping either across the Jordan bridges or to West Bank markets swamped with Israeli produce

The 1967 war exposed the occupied territories to competition from Israel, and allowed selective exports to reach the occupying power. Despite heavy restrictions in the early years of occupation, exports to Israel provided a large part of West Bank and Gaza Trade. This is also due to the fact that Israel closed most of the avenues the occupied territories had for foreign trade. According to the report, the occupied territories total trade with Israel rose from 60 percent in 1969 to over 85 percent in 1973. Under the new occupation conditions, there were fluctuations in the percentage of exported agricultural commodities in the '70s. According to Ibrahim Matter, a Palestinian agricultural expert, there was a drop in the volume of agricultural exports directed overseas from 29 percent in the early '70s to 18 percent in 1979-80. Agricultural exports outside Israel and Jordan were limited to citrus products with some 13 percent of the citrus exports going to Eastern Europe. Since 1967, Gaza produce has been shipped through Israeli ports to Eastern Europe, and Yugoslavia, and to the West Bank and Arab countries. The market Gaza had before the occupation in Western Europe was prohibited by Israel after 1967. In addition to the small amount of exports going outside through Israeli ports, most are carried out across the Jordan bridges.

The proportion of agricultural products exported by the Gaza Strip was high but has been declining from 74 percent of all exports in 1971 to about 48 percent in 1979. On the other hand, not much change occurred in the percentage of agricultural produce to Jordan from the occupied territories rising from 45 percent in 1968/9 to 48 percent in 1979/80. So strapped farmers are not finding an increased market on the East Bank to make up for their declining market with Israel and other foreign countries.

With regard to the exports of vegetables from the occupied territories there was a marked rise in the '70s. It rose from 2000 tons in 1968 to 4000 tons in 1975. By 1980 vegetable exports totalled 8987 tons. According to Kahan's report the export of vegetable products to Israel increased from 1970 while at the same time the volume of imports from Israel to the occupied territories increased.

Restrictions

During the past few years the situation for the Palestinian farmer has been going from bad to worse. Israeli occupation authorities have imposed a set of restrictions not only on the exports but also on a number of types of agriculture produce. Among these types which have been affected by the new restrictions are grapes, plums, tomatoes and eggplants. Plums and grapes from the West Bank are produced in quantities far exceeding domestic consumption. Grapes alone amount to 100,000 tons every year. The exports of these products besides tomatoes and eggplants to the East Bank have been limited in the past and the surplus has gone to Israel. But in the last two years Israel has stopped issuing permits for West Bank farmers to export their agricultural products to Israel. "These measures," said Ibrahim Matter "are intended to protect the Israeli farmers at the expense of the Palestinian farmers." David Kahan affirms this point in his reports, saying that when the agricultural production in the occupied territories becomes a "threat" to Israeli farmers, the Israeli government protects its own.

In the framework of these new restrictive policies, Israeli occupation authorities issued two laws in 1983 — one, no. 1015, bans the growing of grapes and plums without prior permission from Israeli authorities, and the other one, no. 1038, restricts the growing of tomatoes and eggplants in the Jordan Valley. These two orders provide that whoever grows more than the law allows will be fined. As a result of these orders the agricultural output dropped by 20 percent last season. According to Matter, a number of farmers received warnings from the agricultural department in the military government for defying these orders. According to Matter, the main reason for these new restrictions is the improvement in productivity and quality of the products of the Palestinian farmers. He added that the Israelis intend to put a limit on the competitiveness of the Palestinian farmer.

Until 1983 the surplus of tomatoes grown here was exported to Jordan and to Arab countries through Jordan provided that the exported quantities didn't exceed 50 percent of the total Palestinian production. This condition, which was set by the Arab League, is meant to see that the other 50 percent stay here to meet domestic need in order to compete with Israeli produce. The Israelis, though, have continued to flood the West Bank and Gaza markets with their subsidised commodities thereby rendering the Arab League stand virtually useless. The Palestinian farmer is thus caught between Israeli imports and restrictions on Arab exports, made by those who selfishly encourage him to remain steadfast!

Baker Abu Keshek, a Palestinian economist, told *Al Fajr* that "when the Israeli board of vegetables and fruit decides that a certain market is full with Israeli products and they want to limit imports from the West Bank, they impose a temporary ban on imports from the occupied territories." Checkpoints are set up and all imports are turned back, he said. Bans are then placed on mainly agricultural products. "These bans on imports from the West Bank change from year to year depending on how any given market is doing at any given time, he said. The reverse is also true, said Abu Keshek. When there is a shortage of a product, that product is not banned from Israel. "Imports are allowed to reach a certain level and then the ban is reimposed," he said.

When exporting agricultural products to Israel, the Palestinian farmer has to present an official application with the quantity he wants to export to the district agricultural department director who in turn passes the application onto the agricultural marketing officer in Beit El military compound. The latter may agree or may not. His decision depends upon the consent of the Israeli vegetable and fruit board. "If the board sees that the West Bank commodities compete with the Israeli products," said Matter, "it recommends not to issue a marketing license for the Palestinian farmers."

It is not only the restrictive policies adopted by Israel which have seriously affected the exports of the West Bank, even though it is the primary reason, but also the development of agriculture in Jordan. In the East Bank there was surplus of tomatoes and eggplants last year due to the advanced methods of cultivation used there. This has caused a sharp drop in prices in Amman's market.

This directly affected the farmers of the West Bank, most of the farmers leaving their crops unharvested because the picking and transportation expenses could not cover the costs of cultivation. "Therefore," said Matter, "last year was considered the worst year the Palestinian farmers have ever had, as the loss was estimated at tens of thousands of dinars." He added, that at the same time, Israeli occupation authorities prevented the farmers from marketing their products in Israel while Israeli farmers swamped the occupied territories' market with their products.

Citrus, mostly from the Gaza Strip, is allowed basically only one outlet now through Amman to the Arab countries. Citrus accounts for about 70 percent of Gaza's exports. Eighty percent of this citrus goes to the Arab countries while 15 percent to the Eastern European Socialist bloc through Israeli ports. Gazans are not allowed to market anything inside Israel or in Western Europe. They are allowed to send their citrus to be packaged and bottled by Israeli companies, but once processed, they cannot be sold inside the country.

The trade with Eastern European countries is conducted as barter trade, not for hard currency. Therefore, Israel is not interested in this market. Last year, citrus farmers received sheep from Yugoslavia in return for their citrus exports. According to one of the merchants in Gaza, Israel then imposed heavy taxes on the sheep thus causing a loss to the Palestinian citrus exporters in Gaza.

Industrial Exports

Currently the amount of industrial exports from the occupied territories is almost negligible. Industry in the West Bank and Gaza Strip consists largely of small-scale enterprises which are little more than workshops, including traditional crafts of the territories like carpets from Gaza, glass from Hebron, and wicker furniture from Bethlehem. Construction materials such as stone, gravel and marble are produced in West Bank quarries along with building blocks and tiles. The stone trade has grown rapidly with the expansion of the construction industry during the Israeli building boom. But building restrictions on West Bank Arabs means less business for this Arab business. Some consumer commodities manufactured in the occupied territories such as chocolates, cigarettes and soaps are sold to the Arab population inside Israel.

The West Bank industrial sector is a small contribution to domestic production. In 1980 for example it accounted for six percent of total domestic production, dropping from only eight percent in 1975. According to Charlie Shammas, head of the Ramallah Matin textile cooperative, there are only eight or nine companies involved at the present time with industrial exports, including mostly olive oil soap and plastic products. Olive oil is also classified under industrial export because of the fact that it is industrially produced.

The level of industrial exports has sharply decreased since 1967. Since then many industrial outfits which were active in exports have either shut down or simply moved to Jordan. One recent example is the Abdeen and Jordan Plastic companies which moved to Jordan. The Jordan Plastic Company sent to its new factory in the East Bank molds of certain plastic products which are very popular. As a result, the Jordan Plastic Company's Beit Sahour plant no longer produces certain household plastic items here in the West Bank. In the case of other firms the factory's owners simply abandoned formerly successful plants in favour of starting new plants in Jordan to avoid the restrictions of the occupation.

The reasons for the low level of industrial exports, according to Shammas, lie in the Arab boycott of goods produced here, the absence of local talent, the lack of funds and the absence of institutions or a government which can encourage and promote industrial exports.

There was a marked decline in the number of industrial products in the '70s. For example, a 93 percent growth in textiles during the first half of the decade dropped to only a 16 percent growth rate in the latter half. Footwear registered about 89 percent production growth between 1970-75 compared to a 24 percent growth rate during the latter five years of the decade. All the processed foods have witnessed absolute declines in the last two years after years of growth, as a result of substitution on the part of an increasingly affluent and westernised Jordanian clientele who, for instance, now consume margarine instead of samneh, a shortening produced on the West Bank.

To maintain the Arab boycott, of goods manufactured from anything Israeli, the Jordanians have insisted that West Bank goods be produced from materials imported from Jordan, or at least transported through Jordan. "This means paying the tariff twice — once as the materials enter Jordan and once over the bridges," said Abu Keshek.

Importing materials made in Jordan itself is often expensive because the protected Jordanian industry charges higher than competition prices and involves high transportation costs. So it is not surprising that only twelve percent of the firms in the West Bank (the total number of firms is 201) export goods to Jordan and beyond. This policy also explains why most exported goods are processed foods for which the problem of importing materials is minimal. It should also be pointed out that as the Jordanian industrial sector has grown, the relative competitiveness of West Bank industry has declined. The industry of the occupied territories is being squeezed by Jordanian economic policies as well as the Israeli occupation which is not interested in the improvement of Palestinian industry. The occupied territories industry cannot compete with Israeli industry which is protected and subsidised. This is besides restrictions imposed by the Israeli authorities on the occupied territories' industrial exports to Israel. Most of the industrial exports to Israel are directed to the Arab population of the Galilee and the Triangle, where the Israelis show no real objection.

Regarding Jordanian restrictions, some Palestinian economists believe, however, that without the Amman market which receives 50 percent of agricultural exports from the occupied territories, West Bank agriculture would be killed. Others see things quite differently. "The policy," said one, "of the open bridges has made no great contribution to the growth of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, although its sudden disappearance would create transitional problems in finding alternative markets." He said the bridges have never been fully open in either direction, and that the application of Israel's tariffs to Jordan exports and Arab boycott restrictions intended to prevent Israeli products from moving eastward limit the scope of the exchange. "The open bridges policy has merely maintained the trade, not expanded it," he said.

Charlie Shammas told *Al Fajr* that companies which survived the initial shock resulting from the 1967 war were able to continue their exports to Jordan and other Arab countries, because of the open bridges. This did not enable all to reestablish exports, however, because there were a number of conditions placed on West Bank factories by Jordan. "The most difficult condition," said Shammas, "regarding the boycott was that no item can be exported if the raw materials it is made from are Israeli." Therefore the factories had to either use West Bank raw materials if available or else import raw materials from Jordan if the Israelis permit. "With the West Bank economy closed in and very dependent on Israel," said Shammas, "this condition was impossible to be met and therefore industrial exports were either not thought of or the companies moved to Jordan."

Lack of Funds

The availability of credit is a very important facet of industrial growth. Almost no industrial infrastructure anywhere in the world can operate without the availability and use of credit provided in most occasions on a long-term basis. This is completely absent in the occupied territories.

Shortly after the 1967 war the Israeli military commanders issued a military order closing all existing banks. The only banks allowed to operate were the Bank Leumi and Hapoalim Bank, both Israeli. The West Bank and Gaza were divided as war prizes between the two Israeli banks. The first was awarded the West Bank and the latter, Gaza. With little trust between the occupiers and the occupied, these banks have basically functioned as deposit and withdrawal facilities only. Very few companies have asked for credit because of hope that the occupation would end. As a result, companies either attempted to get loans from Jordanian banks or from local money changers. The first produced problems when trying to get money across the bridge and the second could not be relied on for large amounts of money over long periods. Money changers are said to give credit at a 15 percent rate of interest.

The Israeli military authorities did give some grants and loans in the early '70s but all these stopped after 1975.

Annex Table 4.1 The Occupied Territories: Volume and Destination of Exports 1971-1979
Million IL in Current Prices

Items	West Bank		Gaza Strip	
	1971	1979	1971	1979
Total Exports	148.0	3726.4	102.8	3077.7
To Israel	77.6	229.4	36.1	2067.3
Agric. Products	11.9	468.1	9.2	464.9
Industrial Products	65.7	1823.3	26.9	1611.4
To Jordan	68.4	1409.9	12.2	775
Agric. Products	17.4	523.9	12.2	775.2
Industrial Products	51.0	886.0	—	—
Other Countries	2.0	25.1	54.5	226.2
Agric. Products	—	—	54.5	226.2
Industrial Products	2.0	25.1	—	—
Excess of Imports Over Exports Total	137.1	5748.1	81.6	2276.2

Government Help

Governments with their natural interest in improving their countries' economic situation and the countries' balance of debts are always interested and active in helping improve their countries' exports. Government help takes a number of forms: tax breaks, financing and providing of low interest credit, minimising overhead by cutting down export red tape and customs delays, help with currency controls, finding markets and subsidising products or factories that have potential.

These important helps are all absent from the Palestinian scene. Although Israel provides all these services to help its own industries, they do not help Arab industrialists and Arabs do not seek Israeli government help. The feeling among Palestinians is that Israeli help would be only another form of dependency from which Palestinians are struggling now to free themselves.

A number of these services can be obtained by private companies who act as advisors and agents for local Palestinian industries. One Palestinian industrialist suggested that many of the groups that sympathise with Palestinians around the world can be very effective in finding potential markets for Palestinian products in their countries. Another suggestion is that marketing agencies can be set up abroad with the purpose of making the contacts and providing advice to local Palestinian industrialists. Back home the local chambers of commerce can also play an important role in promoting exports and giving advice to local industries. According to Shammas, these things are the most needed, but most difficult to obtain, one of the main reasons why Palestinians do not even consider entering the export field.

Nicaragua Is Anti-Israel, Not Anti-Jew

by Bishara Bahbah

World Jewry, particularly the exceptionally wealthy and influential American Jews, often refuse to distinguish between a country's treatment of its Jewish nationals and its relationship with Israel. Therefore, it is not uncommon for many World Jews to describe a country that adopts anti-Israeli policies as anti-Semitic. Nicaragua is a case in point.

On August 6, 1982, Nicaragua became the first and only country to sever its diplomatic ties with Israel in protest against the latter's invasion of Lebanon, particularly its venture into West Beirut. Israel minimised Nicaragua's move by pointing out that relations between the two countries had been, in any case, frozen since the overthrow of the Somoza regime by the Sandinistas in 1979. Israel, however, had been more aggravated by the Sandinista's unequivocal support for the Palestinians. The PLO was granted full diplomatic status with a resident Palestinian Ambassador in Managua – the only Arab Ambassador in Nicaragua's capital!

The Sandinista decision to sever ties with Israel and their close ties to the Palestinians irked much of World Jewry, particularly American Jews, who came to Israel's defence in an old but traditional manner. The anti-defamation league of B'nai Brith (ADL) charged that the Sandinista government was anti-Semitic because all but a handful of the 50-member Jewish community in Managua fled the country during and after the 1979 revolution. World Jewry, however, was not as concerned about the fate of Nicaragua's Jews as much as Nicaragua's ties with Israel.

In October of this year, the president of the World Jewish Congress, Edgar Bronfman, met with Daniel Ortega, Nicaragua's head of state, and told him that if Nicaragua wanted to improve its image among World Jewry, it should do so not by a continued effort to prove that there is no anti-Semitism in Nicaragua, but by taking diplomatic action instead to show that it is changing its "hostile" approach towards Israel. Bronfman and other Jewish leaders have failed again to see the distinction that Nicaragua has between its treatment of its Jewish nationals and its ties with Israel.

In September of this year, Nicaragua allowed a 10-member delegation from the New Jewish Agenda, a "progressive" Jewish organisation concerned with human rights, to visit Nicaragua on a fact-finding mission. At the end of its visit, the delegation issued a statement concluding it had found no evidence of an "official policy" of anti-Semitism in Nicaragua. Instead they discovered that "... were a number of Jews who have been active in the Sandanista government, including minister of tourism Herty Levites.

With the charge of Nicaragua's anti-Semitism thus laid to rest, why do Jewish leaders, particularly American Jews, fail to see why Nicaragua has adopted a "hostile" attitude towards Israel and what exactly is Israel's role in Central America?

The Sandinista government have had manifold reasons to be outraged at Israel. Prior to the success of the Sandinista revolution in 1979, Israel was Somoza's main arms supplier. According to many published reports, Israel provided Somoza, during his last six months in office, with at least 83 percent of his entire arms imports. While after the Sandinistas came to power, Israel started providing, according to Western sources including *The New York Times* and *Washington Post*, funds and made large contributions of Soviet weapons seized from the PLO to anti-Sandinista rebels. Israel's activities in Central America were not only limited to helping anti-Sandinista rebels but also in helping the other dictatorships of Central America including Guatemala and Honduras.

Wreckage at Managua airport caused by a rebel air raid: Israel made large contributions of weapons to anti-Sandanista rebels.

If World Jewry is so concerned about anti-Semitism then it should advise Israel to cease its role as an arms supplier and a friend of brutal dictators. In fact, the hypocrisy of both Israel and World Jewry reached its peak when, between 1976 and 1980, thousands of Jews were disappearing in Argentina while it was emerging as Israel's largest arms customer. Or is the charge of anti-Semitism only made against governments that do not have good ties with Israel?

British 'Lady' Remembers Tall Men of Dhahriya

by Jeremy Jones

During my holiday in England this past summer I had the occasion to meet the widow of the first British governor of Hebron. I was introduced to her by a common friend who, knowing of my own much more recent association with Hebron, thought it would interest both of us to meet and exchange experiences. She invited me for tea one afternoon.

Lady Champion is now 91 and lives alone in a flat in a retirement home in Tunbridge Wells, south of London. She and her husband, Sir Reginald, were resident in Hebron from 1918 to 1924. He had responsibility for military and civil matters throughout the region; she looked after him and their household. Despite her years, Lady Champion appeared mentally alert and displayed remarkable lucidity in her recollection of the small details of her life over 60 years ago.

She did most of the talking. In anticipation of my visit she had prepared a list of about 20 family names that she recalled from her time in Hebron, those of administrators, servants, and acquaintances. At the mention of many of the names I nodded with recognition and said, "Yes, I had a student by that name," or, "Yes, they're still a prominent family." A certain number of people in her charge who did odd jobs around the residence were convicts, trusted to put in a day's work for the Governor. Most of them wore blue overalls, Lady Champion remembered, but some wore red. She discovered that those in blue were common criminals and those in red were murderers. These murderers "seemed such nice, friendly and ordinary men."

A few Palestinian members of his staff used to accompany major Champion on partridge shooting expeditions in the hills, a favourite pastime of the ruling class. It struck me later that if partridge had not become part of present Palestinian cuisine it was because for much of this century the Palestinians have simply not been permitted to possess private firearms.

After reflecting on some of the personalities she knew, Lady Champion asked me an extraordinary question: "Tell me, are the men of Dhahriya still tall?" I stuttered an answer: "To the best of my knowledge they are of normal height now." However, she insisted that in her time the men of Dhahriya were famous for their tallness. Apparently they were also famous for their feuding among one another. She believed that it was the practice of major Champion's Turkish predecessor to settle internecine disputes by positioning cannons on a hillside and bombarding the village for a few minutes. "Of course Reg couldn't conceive of doing anything like that. His solution was to put the men to work building roads," she said.

At this moment I broached the subject of conflict between Arabs and Jews in Hebron in the early years of the Mandate. Lady Champion remembered the growing tensions within the town. "The Arabs and Jews were really so naughty. Reg often had to go out and stop them from killing each other," she remembered. Her use of the word "naughty" suggested something of the sense of effortless superiority with which the British dominated their subject races. She blamed the Balfour Declaration for the atmosphere of mutual distrust and the outbreaks of violence. This promise of a homeland for the Jews, she said, upset the relationship between the two communities which had peaceably survived the centuries. Like all Palestinians, the Arab population of Hebron felt threatened by the new political consciousness of the Jews and the increasing numbers of idealistic Jewish immigrants determined to establish their society in Palestine.

When his service in Hebron came to an end major Champion was posted to the Galilee. By this time, the mid 20's, life was becoming dangerous for British officials, and the Champions never went anywhere without a military escort. Lady Champion spoke of the fast development of Jewish farming settlements in the north. She remarked how scandalized the Arabs were at the sight of kibbutz women on the roads "wearing the briefest of shorts." I asked if she noticed any strain between religious and secular Jews, as there is now. Indeed, she claimed, their arguments were continuous and bitter: since their purposes in the Promised Land were so much at variance with one another, it was hard to see how the two kinds of Jew could co-exist.

Although her references to the human conflicts during her stay in Palestine did not go particularly deep, what Lady Champion had to say about them left me with the impression that few things had changed in the last 60 years. In a depressing sense Lady Champion's Palestine, now known as Israel and the Occupied Territories, is still alive. Her reflections were generally unprejudiced, unpolitical, and unintellectual, and she did not regard herself as playing any part whatsoever in history. Certainly she showed little interest in the present. Yet this woman's personal account was, I believe, a fascinating small contribution to the social history of Palestine.

As I rose to leave she produced an album full of yellowing photographs of her days in this country. Most of them portrayed people that she knew. Several, however, offered perspectives of Hebron deep in the snow of one dreadful winter. I reassured her that Hebron still attracts some of the worst weather in the Mediterranean.

Dr Jones worked in the English department at Hebron University for the last three years. He is now a visiting professor at Bir Zeit University.

Palestinian Theatre Short on Professionalism

by Said al-Ghazali

Palestinians in the occupied territories are not as familiar with the internationally recognised norms of good theatre as they are with the theatre of cliches and slogans often thought of as political theatre with a national or social message.

Attempts to start local Palestinian theatre have been repeatedly made since the early 1970s but all were doomed to failure because of a number of inherent weaknesses. However, the presence of an increasing number of Palestinian theatre and arts professionals makes the possibility of starting a successful theatre in the coming few years more and more feasible.

The new *El-Hakawati* Theatre in Jerusalem provides a limited opportunity to some theatrical troupes to perform at the centre. However, business disputes between *El-Hakawati*, who are themselves a professional troupe, and visiting troupes are another obstacle towards forming a successful local theatre that still could boast of universality.

It is now the universities, unions and various clubs and committees on the West Bank who are beginning to sponsor a rejuvenation of Palestinian theatre. It is the students, unionists, and members of these various clubs who comprise the audiences of today's theatre, who are often most open to the political messages and social criticism within the periodic cultural programmes of these institutions.

The Bir Zeit Festival

A month-long artistic festival held on the old campus of Bir Zeit University in August is not only a recent example of attempts to sponsor Palestinian theatre, but can also be considered an adequate reflection of the shortcomings inherent in the move towards forming a theatre of professionalism. Most of the actors and their productions appeared amateur in the art of universal theatre. They are still learning of the theatre through trial and error, yet so far without a deep understanding of what it takes to be professional. Their use of lighting, sound and stage sets proved that the theatre in the occupied territories is still in the first stages.

The Bir Zeit festival did, however, provide an opportunity for five theatrical troupes to present their plays and to compete with one another. At festival's end *El-Hakawati*, the only professional troupe in the occupied territories, and *al-Jawal* troupe from Sakhnin in the Galilee were jointly given first prize for their performances of "Ali the Galilean" and "al-Farafir."

Since the announcement of the results, however, a debate has ensued into the very issue of shortcomings in amateur Palestinian theatre. The majority of theatre troupes established since the '70s depend on scripts written by famous Arab playwrights. *El-Hakawati*, however feels that because of the quality and originality of their production they should be solely awarded first place. *Al-Jawal's* production was not an original work.

El-Hakawati artists are involved in the debate based on their belief that their troupe — the most successful, organised, and theatrically educated — should in fairness be rewarded first place for their totally original work. The work was produced, acted and directed in a new style of theatre called tableau, meaning produced collectively by all *El-Hakawati* members. The other troupes have neither originality in their work nor characteristics that would distinguish their style and production. *El-Hakawati* artists believe this was not reflected in the judges report.

Some judges admitted that *El-Hakawati* showed off a splendid piece of theatre but argued that the content and form of their presentation was not sufficiently coherent. One of the judges argued that "Ali the Galilean" was indeed best-of-show but that it was important to encourage the *al-Jawal* troupe for a "successful serious play." Hanan Ashrawi told *Al Fajr* that *El-Hakawati* succeeded in the delivery of a theme to the audience. The dramatic structure, acting, direction, use of lighting, sound, scenery, make-up and costumes reflected their excellent skill and knowledge.

Three other judges Ibrahim Jbail, from Ramallah, Sami Aboushi, an engineer at Bir Zeit University, and Subhi Damouni, from Nazareth, are all founders of theatrical troupes. They insisted on the addition of another criteria for judging that "the script content harmonises with the general reality."

The plays performed by the *Farafir, Nujoom,* and *Sandouk Ajab* troups were described by all judges in terms of their weaknesses. "The dialogues were empty, superficial, and full of speeches. No proper lighting, sound, or scenery were used on the stage," Ashrawi told *Al Fajr*. "This indicates that internationally recognised norms of theatre were absent from their performances," she said. Mohammed Batrawi, another judge and a well-known literary critic, echoed similar sentiments. There was, he said, "no comparison between the sophisticated level presented by *El-Hakawati* on the stage and others."

The plays presented at the BZU festival were strongly criticised by Mohammed Batrawi, who said, "Where is the novelty? Where is the role of the university in delivering an important cultural message? What I have seen is an excessive outward display."

Responding to Batrawi's statements, Taysir Masrieh, the general director of the BZU festival, agreed that there was no high artistic level in the theatrical group's presentations. However, this is not the university's error, he said. It is impossible to correct mistakes in the Palestinian theatre within only a few weeks. However, "We are ready to offer all available assistance in the fields of theatre education and materialistic support" he said. Masrieh expects, however, that Palestinian theatre will suffer much in the coming few years.

The Cultural Centre

The absence of an equipped stage and a well-trained troupe selected from those concerned with the improvement of Palestinian theatre are the main obstacles facing an attempt to foster professional theatre in the occupied territories. Batrawi feels the solution lies in forming a cultural centre in Jerusalem. He told *Al Fajr* "Some 20 prominent personalities are presently exerting efforts to transform the recently-opened *El-Hakawati* into a cultural centre supervised by an independent administration." Batrawi believes that the centre should train theatre activists and offer courses on theatrical technique.

Ashrawi feels the theatre can be improved through offering courses, holding forums, and publishing articles written by qualified people about the theatre and its concepts. This, she said, is the duty of local institutions, universities and those who work in the theatrical field. Criticism is also useful. BZU festival theatre judges plan to publish a booklet containing their criticism of the plays performed and to send letters to the theatrical groups explaining their shortcomings.

An actor of Al-Jawal troupe from Sakhnin plays in al-Farafir play

The renovated *El-Hakawati* Theatre is the only theatre and cultural centre in the occupied territories.

Aboushi, one of the founders of the *Balalin* troupe, regretted that "there is no theatre in the occupied territories." The most enthusiastic casts lose their motivation, he said, after only three years of work. Damouni, the founder of the modern theatre in Nazareth, described the BZU festival as a splendid opportunity for West Bank theatrical groups to learn their mistakes and fundamental errors. He affirmed that the theatre is the most needed act for maintaining our existence. "Give me a theatre, I give you a revolution." Damouni, who studied the art of theatre in France, was quoting Lenin, the founder of the Communist revolution in the Soviet Union.

Other attempts have been made in the past to foster Palestinian theatre. Jbail, who founded the al-Bireh-based *Dababis* troupe in 1972, told *Al Fajr* that the troupe succeeded in presenting only six plays on stage but could not continue because of the occupation's harassments. A number of internal and external obstacles such as the absence of well-trained and qualified actors, the unavailability of a stage, the ban on plays being performed in the West Bank and the ebb and flow of personnel changes led these early groups to final disarray. This was the fate of troupes such as *Dababis*, *Balalin*, *Belalin*, the *Palestinian Theatre* and the *Palestinian People's Theatre*. Adherence to the artistic points and professionalism of the universal theatre will be in the future a result of collective efforts made by concerned individual artists, as well as by local institutions.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

Local Palestinian newspapers gave front-page coverage this week to the important meeting of Palestinian officials in Tunis. The papers reported the results of the meeting in which the date of the convening of the PNC was agreed to be no later than the end of November.

Locally Palestinian papers covered the solidarity visits by progressive Israelis to the Dheisheh camp and the curfew placed on Nablus area camps.

Peres's visit to the US was given news and editorial coverage. Specifically discussed was the generous US financial support of Israel.

The Carrot and the Stick... Once more

The talk about improving "conditions of life" in the occupied territories was laid bare by the settlers' patrols in the Palestinian camps. Reports were also leaked about a number of American Jewish and Arab capitalists, among them Najib Halabi, father-in-law of King Hussein, who have been planning for over a year to implement investment programs in the occupied territories in cooperation with the US State Department.

This proposed investment belies American claims that the Reagan plan will restore the occupied territories to Arab control. It is legal recognition of Israeli authority over the West Bank and Gaza Strip through the permission which these authorities will grant for investment.

The formation of this US Jewish and Arab group means that the future of this area will be neither Palestinian nor Jordanian. It is an expression of the American policy which opposes Palestinian rights to self-determination. Foreign investment, they think, will bolster non-nationalist tendencies and broaden the social base of the pro-American forces.

This attempt will not be more successful than ones previous. The basic condition for improving life in the occupied territories remains the freedom of self-determination.

AL TALIA
October 11

The New Birth

A joint communique was issued yesterday by Jordan and Egypt at the conclusion of Mubarak's visit to Jordan. We will not repeat the content of the communique regarding the two countries' full agreement on Arab and international issues.

What we are interested in here is to see the spirit of Arabism finding its way back into the Egyptian body. The communique did not even mention Camp David or individual settlement with Israel or autonomy as envisaged by Camp David for the Palestinians.

The two sides (Jordan and Egypt) emphasised the need to face the difficulties the Palestinian cause is going through. They also emphasised the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

The communique is a drastic turning point in Egyptian policy. The Egyptian position, as mentioned in Camp David, denied the Palestinian right to self-determination. Autonomy was all that Egypt hoped for by Camp David. There is a big difference between Camp David and the Jordanian-Egyptian communique.

Today, after Egypt has expressed its belief in the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, it has abandoned the supplements to Camp David regarding the Palestinian cause. Self-determination means that it is up to the Palestinians to choose their own political destiny and to choose their own representatives, and to lift Arab guardianship over them. This term may have passed unnoticed in the communique. But it has a significant historical meaning. It is a new birth of the Egyptian stand concerning the Palestinian cause, the PLO and the Palestinian people.

This new Egyptian stand, if anything, indicates that Jordan's decision to restore relations with Egypt has also restored the true Arab spirit to Egypt. The Palestinian people are harvesting the first fruits of the Jordanian step.

AL QUDS
October, 12

The Battle for an Independent Palestinian Decision

Every revolution, political uprising or military coup in any Arab country has made it a point to mention in its very first communique the necessity of liberating Palestine.

This national revolutionary clause was mentioned from May 1948 until June 1967 when the West Bank and Gaza Strip were occupied by Israel. Then the Arab revolutions, uprisings and coups had to speak in their first communiques of more than one land and more than one date for these occupations.

The Palestinian people have been listening to these clamorous communiques, and in particular to the first statements calling for liberation, return and victory.

But the Palestinian people have become certain that the Arab regimes, be they left or right, will never regain one inch of their land. On the contrary these regimes have contributed, directly or indirectly, to the loss of all the Palestinian homeland.

Through this certainty for which the Palestinian people have paid dearly, they have decided to lead their own national cause by themselves, despite the hard conditions.

Hence their initial decision to set up the Palestine Liberation Organisation in 1964, which was preceded by Palestinian uprisings by the Palestinian people wherever they were.

Since that date, the Palestinian people have been fighting a battle for their independent decision and their independent national identity. And if the June 5, 1967 defeat was an actual defeat of the Arab regimes it was a new door through which the Palestinian revolution was ushered against this defeat itself and against the guardianship of the defeated regimes in general.

So, despite the dispersion and displacement of the Palestinian people, the PLO, under the leadership of Yasir Arafat, was able to achieve remarkable political gains on all levels. The achievement of these gains was not an easy one. For most Arab regimes tried to exploit the Palestinian gains for their own interests and for their own traditional plans and programmes.

The Arab regimes depended on the Palestinian dispersion to do that. Every country tried to subjugate the Palestinian community in it to the aims of the regime and its political vision. If the members of the community resisted subjucation and guardianship, they were beaten, liquidated or expelled to another country.

So, the Palestinian suffering increased. At the same time there appeared some mercenaries, who submitted to the regimes which couldn't care less for the Palestinians, and they sought to destroy the march of the Palestinian national unity and to liquidate the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

But the PLO did not submit to this blackmailing on the one hand and tried to avoid marginal battles with the Arab regimes on the other hand, so as to devote its efforts to liberation and return.

Nevertheless, some regimes impose these battles, as we face with Syria, for instance. The regime of Hafez al-Assad is trying to create weak alternatives to the PLO, and to confiscate the independent Palestinian decision and to fabricate cracks and rifts in the Palestinian ranks. It depends on the Palestinian dispersion whereby some Palestinians happen to be in Syria and are exposed to oppression and the imposition of guardianship.

Indeed, despite this gloomy picture, the PLO is fully convinced of the necessity of Arab ties to the Palestinian issue. However, the role of such ties cannot, in any way, cancel the role of the Palestinian leadership and the independent Palestinian decision.

The PLO's insistence on practicing its full legitimacy stems from this conviction, despite all problems and obstacles.

The battle of the legitimate Palestinian insistence on convening the 17th session of the PNC is perhaps the most prominent modern battle fought by our people to ensure that legitimacy.

It is no wonder that more than 20 Arab countries have not dared so far to agree to host the meeting of the PNC. They all still believe they can tame the Palestinian decision within their own designs.

We really marvel that now the occupied territories, compared to these Arab regimes, are the only place to practice our will, even under violent daily confrontation.

And, we would like to assert that this daily confrontation is comprehensive. It is a confrontation against our number one enemy, the United States, and then against Israel. As for the Arab regimes who are hostile to our national rights, they stand on the same level with these other enemies.

We would also like to assert that any comprehensive settlement will not succeed in the absence of the concerned Arab regimes such as Egypt, Syria and Jordan.

Yet, the major fact is that any settlement cannot be achieved without it being accepted by the Palestinian people and its legitimate leadership with its independent decision and full will.

Al Fajr
October 15

Japanese solidarity committee exhibited in Tokyo photographs of massacre victims in commemoration of Sabra and Shatila.

Japanese Remember Sabra and Shatila

Participants in a mass meeting held in Tokyo September 18 on the second anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacre urged the Japanese government to "stop its political and economical support to Israel" and to recognise the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The meeting, which was sponsored by eight organisations based in the far eastern country, also condemned the Israeli occupation of South Lebanon, the settlement policy in the occupied West Bank and "suppression of Palestinian people" under occupation. It also demanded that the US "stop its military support to Israel... and stop exercising its right to veto against resolutions in the UN to condemn the Israeli policy of occupation."

The meeting included a slide pictures presentation on the Palestinian revolution and the various aspects of the Palestinian struggle. The slides also showed the Sabra and Shatila massacres. A PLO communique on this occasion was read out in addition to messages from the International Committee of Sabra and Shatila and the message of the Palestine Red Crescent Society. Also a message from the Japanese Dr. Nobuhara (well known among Palestinians as Dr. Sa'ad) was read.

The main speakers at the meeting were Tatematsu Wahei, a Japanese writer, and Bakr Abd al-Munem, PLO representative to Japan. Their speeches were followed by a panel discussion chaired by Tokyo University professor Haryu Ichiro. The panel included six participants representing the various solidarity groups.

Abd al-Munem spoke at another meeting the next day September 19 in a forum sponsored by the Filistine Biladi Club in Tokyo. The PLO representative spoke on "The commemoration of the Second Anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacre and the latest situation concerning the PLO."

Letter To Editor

Dear Editor:

When Mr. Leslie Caplan nods in approval in my presence to the contest of the talk I had with him, and when he adds emphasis to his approval by describing the complete censorship of the media here by the Zionist overlords, the obvious impression is that he — Mr. Caplan — is in favour of the "Jewish" concepts put forth to him by myself. This is true especially after he expressed his desire to meet again for further clarification of the Neturei Karta viewpoints.

On second-guessing, perhaps he was getting to see the "light" during our very breif encounter, but the publicity of such a "revolutionary" enlightenment might have caused him much embarrassment, especially to one who presented himself as the "head" of the Australian Jewish community in Sydney (obviously not including the Orthodox segment of the community) — and therefore the critical letter to the editor to *Al Fajr* English edition published on October 12.

In regards to terming my appearance at Mr. Siniora's office as an "intrusion," may I inform the 'hondrable' Mr. Capan, that I found his appearance at Mr. Siniora's office to interfere with my weekly Friday get — together with Mr. Siniora. But to be polite, I will ask for his forgiveness since Mr. Caplan's residence in the Diaspora keeps him in the dark pertaining to issues vital to the existence of the Jewish nation, and he is therefore not to blame. My apologies for any inconvience caused.

Rabbi Moshe Hirsch
Spokesman, Neturei Karta

Beit Amin

continued from page 7

issued by the Qalqilya district court. I explained to the officer that our papers are issued by the Nablus district court, which is a higher judicial body. He told me to keep away from 'Onn's land' and threatened to arrest me if I objected."

On the day following Abdullah's visit to the police with Onn, The people of Beit Amin held a sit-in on the lot in question. Ze'ev Onn continued to build a fence around the land. Soon after army units and police cars roared into the village.

Abdullah tells what happened: "They attacked and beat us indiscriminately. There were men, women, and children screaming for help against those savages. A woman lost her eye and several villagers needed hospitalisation. Four men were arrested, including my son.

"Another confrontation occurred three days later. Four more people were arrested, including another son of mine. *Sumsar* Ahmad Odeh was in Beit Amin at the time. He complained to the police that two villagers had just insulted him. The police arrested the two men who were jailed for 60 days and fined IS500,000. Four people are still in Israeli jails."

Israeli Real Estate Companies

The principal real estate company involved in Arab land purchases and confiscations is the Tel Aviv-based Hamenayot. Two subsidiaries of the company are involved in the Beit Amin issue and are represented by Yitzhak Yanai.

Abdullah Umar explained how this works: "The Jewish real estate companies take possession of Arab lands through Arab *sumsars*. The *sumsar* pays the land owners large sums of money and then sells the land to the companies. They (the companies) pay him a percentage of the sale. The companies move in and take over large areas in the immediate surroundings of the purchased lots. Then they divide the area into lots and sell them to Israeli settlers.

"The real estate companies, in cooperation with the *sumsar* tempt poor villagers with large sums of money to sell their lands. Several villagers live in extreme poverty. They are often illiterate. Several sign papers they cannot read thinking that they are selling a small piece of land or property. What they discover later is that they have sold everything they own to Jewish real estate companies. In several cases, villagers were threatened and blackmailed into signing legal papers."

The legal battle between the villagers of Beit Amin and the real estate companies began in August 1981. A hearing in the case was postponed several times over the last three years. After eight such postponements, the former advocate of the companies resigned the case. He voiced his frustration over lack of evidence and the unreasonable attitude of the companies, say the villagers.

The Israeli companies then hired Arab advocate Abdullah Odeh. He will defend the Israeli real estate companies when the court convenes on October 24. The Israeli high court granted September 25 a temporary injunction stopping work on the land. The villagers' advocate Felicia Langer had complained to the court that police were not preventing Onn from building his private villa on the land while the case was still pending in court.

Abdullah spoke again, this time of the Arab advocate and the village's future: "I do not comprehend how a Palestinian can stand against his brethren in a manner like (Aodullah) Odeh's. He is siding with the Israeli colonising forces against us, the legal owners of this Palestinian land.

"The next court hearing on the 24th of this month will decide the fate of our land. We hope that the court will be fair and return our rights to us. We expect to win the case, but we don't expect the settlers and the Israeli companies to abide by the court ruling. We will not stop praying."

The Future of Beit Amin

The villagers of Beit Amin are under fire directed from all sides. There is the Arab *sumsar* who deceives poor, often illiterate villagers into selling their life's possessions to Jewish real estate companies. There are the real estate companies whose policy is to increase the number of Jewish settlements in the West Bank. The villagers represent an obstacle to the implementation of this policy. There is the Arab advocate who is willing to support an Israeli company's claims over those of his Arab brethren. And there are the Israeli military and police authorities who show obvious bias towards the Israeli companies.

The villagers' future depends on the Nablus court decision, a decision that can possibly be overruled by the military governor of Tulkarm. In such a case, the villager's advocate Langer will take the case to the Israeli High Court. A few years may pass before the whole issue is solved, and meanwhile Beit Amin will be subject to more scandals and land confiscation.

I left Beit Amin angry and dismayed. It was heartbreaking to hear of the village's simple residents being abused and deceived. It was encouraging, however, to meet a man like Abdullah Umar, who is steadfast and is not willing to give up his rights.

I later met with advocate Felicia Langer. She showed me the legal documents she will use in court. She, too, shares my hope that the villagers will win the case and retrieve their lands. I attempted to speak with advocate Abdullah Odeh, but he refused to comment. Ahmad Odeh, the *sumsar*, and representatives of the Israeli real estate companies were impossible to reach.

WEEKLY REVIEW

A thunderstorm pouring buckets of rain ushered in the winter season in Palestine this week. Water covered Nablus road in Jerusalem October 17. A/O photo.

October 10, 1984

15 RESIDENTS DETAINED

NAHALIN — Israeli authorities have mounted an arrest campaign in the village of Nahalin in the Bethlehem district in the last two weeks during which fifteen residents ranging in age from 18 to 50 years have been detained.

BIR ZIET STUDENT RELEASED

Israeli authorities released Bir Zeit University student Marwan al-Barghouti after being detained for 8 days. Barghouti, a member of the BZU student council, was arrested October 2 when military authorities broke into a BZU board meeting and detained the student. He was detained without a legal warrant and no charges were filed.

POLICE CONTINUE TO QUESTION UM AL-FAHM YOUTHS

UM AL-FAHM — Israeli police continue to summon youths from the village of Um al-Fahm to interrogation on suspicion of participating in demonstrations protesting the visit of racist MK Meir Kahane to the village several weeks ago. More than 300 youths have been interrogated so far and charged with throwing stones and demonstrating. Police claim the students have been indentified through a video tape taken by police of the demonstration.

YOUTH MURDERED IN DEIR AL-BALAH

DEIR AL-BALAH — Unidentified persons attacked a youth with sharp instruments and killed him in the town of Deir al-Balah in the Gaza Strip. Police are investigating.

POLYTECHNIC ACCEPTS 123 STUDENTS

HEBRON — The registrar and admissions office in the Polytechnic College in Hebron announced that 123 students have been accepted for the new academic year.

MILITARY VEHICLE STONED

JALAZON — Youths from the Jalazon refugee camp near Ramallah hurled stones at an Israeli army vehicle passing near the camp. Israeli soldiers combed the area.

AUTHORITIES BAN FOOTBALL MATCH

GAZA — Israeli military authorities prevented football teams from the Islamic University in Gaza from travelling to Nablus to hold a match with the local team.

October 11, 1984

ISRAELI SOLDIER INJURED IN NABLUS

NABLUS — An Israeli soldier was wounded in Nablus when a molotov cocktail was thrown at an Israeli army vehicle passing through the city, an Israeli army spokesman said.

The spokesman said the bomb was thrown from the courtyard of the courthouse and that Israeli troops combed the area.

AL ALAMI RENEWS CALL FOR REMOVING BORDER POLICE FROM AL AQSA

JERUSALEM — Sheikh Said al-Din al-Alami, head of the *waqf* and Islamic Affairs Higher Council in Jerusalem, sent a telegramme to the Israeli police chief of the southern district calling on him to adhere to the agreement reached by police and *waqf* officials which specifies border policemen must not enter the area of al-Aqsa Mosque.

Al-Alami complained of continued harassment of Moslem prayers by the policemen who ask worshippers for identification and register their names.

He also called on the police commander not to allow Jews to conduct prayers in the Tankazieh school which is part of al-Aqsa Mosque.

HEBRON BAZAAR CLOSED

HEBRON — Israeli security forces surrounded the local bazaar in Hebron and blocked the main street from the bazaar to the city. Residents were forced to take smaller roads. No reasons were given for this action.

VANDALISM IN HEBRON KINDERGARTEN

HEBRON — Unidentified persons broke into the kindergarten building in the Red Crescent Association in Hebron and vandalised furniture and children's toys. They then set the place afire. Police are investigating.

180 MERCHANTS WARNED BY TAX AUTHORITY

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli custom and tax authority sent warnings to 180 merchants in Bethlehem requesting them to fill out new forms which require them to pay taxes for the last four years. The Bethlehem Chamber of Commerce expressed its discontent with the warnings and said it would protest this measure.

AL-MASRI MEETS BRITISH CONSUL-GENERAL

NABLUS — The British consul-general, Patrick de Coursey-Ireland, met with Hikmat al-Masri, head of the Board of Trustees at Najah University in Nablus. They discussed a number of issues concerning the university and the situation in the occupied territories.

YOUTHS SENTENCED TO PRISON

JENIN — Three youths from Jenin were sentenced by the military court to various prison terms on charges of producing molotov cocktails and throwing them at Israeli buses and planning murder.

The youths are: Mohammed Basem Taha, 16, two-and-a-half years in prison and another two-and-a-half years suspended; Yusef Musa and Abd al-Karim Haraj; two years in prison and three years suspended; Ahmed Mahmoud Faraj; three years in prison and three years suspended.

October 12, 1984

FREIJ CALLS FOR REMOVING SETTLERS' PATROLS

Bethlehem mayor Elias Freij has called on the Israeli defence minister Yitzhak Rabin to prevent Jewish settlers from Hebron from conducting patrols near the Dheisheh refugee camp.

In a message to Rabin, Freij said that such patrols may increase friction between the Palestinian inhabitants and the Jews and encourage the settlers to take the law into their own hands.

STUDENTS BANNED FROM TRAVELLING TO TURKEY

Palestinian students studying in Turkish universities are still banned by the Israeli authorities from travelling to Turkey to continue their studies. The ban has been in effect for the last two months.

GAZA FISHERMEN CALL FOR MORE FISHING AREAS

GAZA — Fishermen in the Gaza Strip are complaining that the continued ban on fishing in areas bigger than those in which they are permitted to fish is causing them much damage.

RESIDENTS RELEASED

Electronics engineer Imad Sa'adeh, from the village of Dhahriyeh in the Hebron district, was released after a two-month detention in Hebron prison.

Sa'adeh was questioned by authorities about his studies in the Soviet Union.

Authorities also released Abdel Hadi Khatib of Beit Kahil after being detained for 20 days on charges of violating a town arrest.

TAIBEH YOUTHS REMANDED

TAIBEH — Eight youths from the village of Taibeh were ordered remanded into police custody by the magistrates court in Kfar Saba on charges of throwing stones at Israeli policemen.

The youths were arrested last week in their village during a demonstration protesting against a planned visit to Taibeh by anti-Arab MK Meir Kahane. Five of them are high school students.

October 14, 1984

WORKERS EXPELLED BY POLICE

JERUSALEM — Israeli police dispersed dozens of Palestinian workers standing in the Musrarah neighbourhood opposite Damascus Gate. Workers normally stand there waiting for employment.

The police claimed that no one is allowed to stand in the area.

AL-AMARI PETITION TO UNRWA

AL-AMARI — About 300 families from the refugee camp of al-Amari near Ramallah submitted a petition to UNRWA calling on it to distribute food supplies to camp residents who are suffering from severe economic conditions.

GAZA DETAINEE KILLED BY INMATES

GAZA — Palestinian detainees in Gaza prison have allegedly killed an inmate suspected of collaborating with prison authorities, the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv* reported.

The paper said police are questioning a number of suspects.

DANISH DELEGATION IN GAZA

GAZA — A Danish delegation representing steel workers in Denmark met with Palestinian representatives of workers unions in the Gaza Strip and discussed with them the bad conditions of Palestinian workers in the occupied territories.

ORDER *NISI* ON JNAID AUTHORITIES

The Israeli high court issued an order *nisi* demanding the Israeli prison authority explain

why seven Palestinian prisoners were transferred recently to Jnaid prison in Nablus.

Israeli Radio said the prisoners complained about the bad conditions in Jnaid.

CURFEW LIFTED FROM BALATA

BALATA — Israeli authorities lifted the curfew on Balata refugee camp near Nablus following a stone-throwing attack on an Israeli car, Saturday.

October 15, 1984

HOUSE OF COMMONS DELEGATION VISITS GAZA

GAZA — A visiting delegation of the British House of Commons met with the dismissed mayor of Gaza Rashad al-Shawwa, Advocate Fayez Abu Rahmeh, Isam al-Shawwa and Yusra al-Barbari.

The Palestinian notables briefed the British parliamentarians on the Palestinian cause and the suffering of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories.

They also reiterated their adherence to and support for the PLO under the leadership of Yasir Arafat.

JENIN STUDENTS SENTENCED

JENIN — The Israeli military court in Jenin sentenced four students from the town to various prison terms on charges of throwing stones at Israeli military vehicles. The students are: Ra'ed Hijawi, four months in prison; Suleiman Hamadeh al-Sabah, four months in prison; Mufid Ghazawi Ibrahim; IS10,000 fine; and Mohammed Balbal, IS10,000 fine.

YOUTH'S TRIAL POSTPONED

RAMALLAH — The Ramallah military court postponed its hearing into the case of Riyadh Atiyeh from the the Dheisheh refugee camp.

Atiyeh who was detained last month, is charged with confronting a number of racist Rabbi Meir Kahane's followers who stormed the camp October 1.

HOME ECONOMICS SYMPOSIUM IN TULKARM

TULKARM — A symposium on household management was held in Tulkarm. The symposium was attended by home economics teachers who discussed methods of teaching the subject.

October 16, 1984

PRISONER SUFFERING IN SHATTA

Shatta prison authorities refused to allow advocate Ibrahim Reshayed of Acre to meet with three political prisoners on the pretext that the prison was "in a state of emergency."

Reshayed protested to the prison director who permitted him to visit the prison two days later.

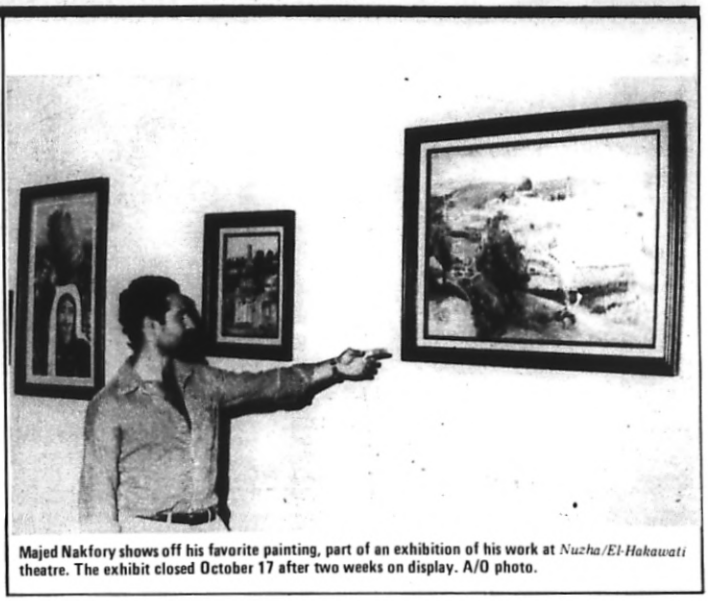
Rashayed, who met with a number of prisoners, said political detainee Ali Shakour, who is serving a life sentence, was in urgent need of a doctor because of deteriorating health.

YOUTH RELEASED AFTER 10 YEARS IN PRISON

BETHLEHEM — Majed al-Shuweiki of Bethlehem was released from detention after serving a 10-year prison term on charges of membership in an illegal organisation.

AL-ALAMI VISITS POLICE CHIEF

Sheikh Sa'ed al-Din al-Alami, head of the Higher Islamic Council, visited the Israeli police chief of the southern district in his headquarters and called on him to prevent Israeli border policemen stationed at al-Aqsa Mosque from searching Muslim worshippers.



Majed Nakfory shows off his favorite painting, part of an exhibition of his work at *Nuzha/El-Hakawati* theatre. The exhibit closed October 17 after two weeks on display. A/O photo.

GAZA RESIDENTS BANNED FROM TRAVELLING TO EGYPT

GAZA — Egyptian authorities continue to return residents of the Gaza Strip wishing to travel to Egypt.

The residents, all of whom carry visas, are not allowed to enter Egyptian territory.

TOWN ARREST

NABLUS — Israeli authorities have issued town arrest orders against two Islamic legal judges from Nablus.

The judges, Sheikh Hamed al-Bitawi and Ahmed Ali, will not be allowed to leave Nablus in the coming six months and will report to the local police station once a week.

Both work in the nearby town of Tulkarm.

TRAVEL BAN LIFTED

AL KHADER — Israeli authorities lifted the travel ban on residents of al-Khader near Bethlehem. Residents will now be permitted to travel to Jordan.

The ban came after recent armed attack on an Israeli bus in the area.

GAZA UNIVERSITY HEADS MEET ISRAEL COORDINATOR

GAZA — Members of the Board of Trustees at the Islamic University in Gaza met with the Israeli coordinator of government activities in the occupied territories and discussed a number of topics concerning the university.

The members requested permission for building new buildings in the university, facilitating students' travel and bringing more funds from abroad.

PALESTINIANS SENTENCED FOR MEMBERSHIP

RAMALLAH — The Ramallah military court sentenced two Palestinians after being convicted of membership in an illegal organisation and participating in activities against the security of Israel.

Ibrahim Mohammed Awawdeh, 21, from Hebron was sentenced to two years in prison and two years suspended. Jibril Abdel Hakim Abu Shkheidem, 24, from Samou' was given 10 months in jail and 14 months suspended.

Unity Government

continued from page 6

far fetched to say the least. An independent Mapam could get no more than two seats and as a bloc it is hard to imagine them receiving any more than six.

As regards extra-parliamentary political movements in Israel, the disappearance of Peace Now from the fray has become all too obvious. Two years ago they managed to mobilize 400,000 people to demand Sharon's resignaton; at present, they can muster no more than 50 people to protest against the natonal unity government beside the Ohel Shem auditorium in Tel Aviv. Rather than undergo a process of radicalisation, Peace Now was swallowed by Ratz. The Ashkenazi middle class which once supported Peace Now has now turned to a movement coalescing around a secret sect that calls itself "Yosef Ha'ivri and his sons" (Joseph the Hebrew and his sons). Offering right-wing politics and religious mystifications, this sect seems to have replaced Peace Now in the hearts of the Ashkenazi middle class.

But the major problem of the Zionist left is not numerical but rather political-ideological. One can learn something about its political programme by looking at the proposals formulated by Yossi Sarid before he met with Palestinian figures at the American Colony Hotel in Jerusalem this past summer, after a similar meeting at Harvard University in March of this year.

The Zionist doves are building on a split in the PLO; until that actually takes place, they are offering other Palestinians a deal whereby in exchange for mutual recognition, terror activities will be halted and Israel will accept the principle of Palestinian self-determination in a federation with Jordan or some other form. The matter is open to negotiation. Given the fact that the Labour Party has declared its firm opposition to any kind of independent Palestinian state and has consistently refused to negotiate with the PLO — or any division thereof, it would seem as though Sarid and his friends have little to offer the Palestinians save for their demand that the latter recognise "the right of the people living in Zion to a homeland and an end to terror operations." Needless to say, this will be quite a hard package to sell on the West Bank.

So it is that the doves do not really have a peace programme and thus cannot really serve as an effective opposition to the national unity government. Ideologically, its support for a state that is both democratic and Jewish cannot stand up against the facts. Nor does it take into account the new realities and the borders which for the past 17 years have been shaping the outlook of the Israeli public. One cannot support a democratic Israel without coming out unambiguously for an independent Palestinian state, negotiations with the PLO, the complete democratisation of Israel and an end to the benefits enjoyed by its Jewish citizens; however, the doves are not ready to go along with this. As such, they have not been able to take a real part in the debate going on in Israeli society, which for the most part has centered around the question of whether the autonomy plan should be imposed on the Arabs, thus creating an apartheid-like state, or whether the Arabs should be expelled from the country.

The fact that the Zionist doves have refused to openly cooperate with the parties that have been stigmatised by the Israeli public as Arab, has not only meant complicity with racism, dividing the opposition yet further, but also points to their recurrent inability to resist right-wing pressure.

It seems quite clear: the national unity government is supported by 97 hawks and the Israeli parliament has become a stage for chauvinism, militarism, and unchecked fascism. Only principled ideological and political criticisms can make parliamentary opposition meaningful. The fact that this role has fallen on the shoulders of only these six people and that Hadash and the Progressive List for Peace (the representatives of the Arab population, more ostracized than ever before, receiving only one half a Knesset seat from the Jewish population) testifies to the erosion of democratic forces in Israel and the ugly character of the national unity government. Only by principled and far reaching educational work can an opposition be forced that can really oppose the government. (Translation: Derech Ha'nitzotz, October 1984)

The Paris-based International Federation of Human Rights tried unsuccessfully to enter Israeli-occupied southern Lebanon from June through October. Their mission – to inspect Israeli detention centres – was officially snubbed by the government. In this communique, IFHR explains what happened.

Human Rights Federation Snubbed by Israeli Government

Prisoners at Ansar, the Israeli detention centre in south Lebanon, exercise amidst the barbed wire.

On June 6, 1984, Michel Blum, chairman of the International Federation of Human Rights (IFHR), based in Paris, wrote to the Israeli ambassador in Paris to ask for the authorisation to visit the Israeli army detention centre in South Lebanon, located in Ansar.

The Israeli embassy did not answer this request before departure on July 1 of an IFHR delegate to Lebanon. The delegate, Jean-Pierre Filiu, had three mandates: one concerning the so-called "missing" people, one related to the Christian population in the Shouf area and one concerning the visit to the Israeli detention centres.

At the beginning of July, the Israeli embassy in Paris warned the IFHR that it was impossible due to "security reasons" to let its delegate cross through the Bater checkpost, the only way left between south Lebanon and the rest of Lebanese territory. One needs to emphasise that this refusal came prior to the closure of the Israeli "liaison office," located in Dabayeh, a northeastern suburb of Beirut. Its closure, 10 days after, has been used ever since by Israeli authorities to justify their refusal to let people get into South Lebanon from Lebanese territory.

So the IFHR delegate went to Israel. He arrived there on July 22, hoping he could travel from there to south Lebanon. But the Israeli embassy in Paris informed the IFHR that the mission could not proceed normally, because of the Israeli elections.

So the IFHR delegate came back to Paris. On August 9, in a letter sent to the Israeli ambassador in Paris, Michel Blum asked again for authorisation to visit the Israeli army jail in Ansar.

One month later he received an oral reply saying that this mission was useless because the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) frequently visited these centres of detention.

The IFHR accepted this refusal and decided not to ask again to visit the Israeli army-run jails. They decided to conduct a mission with a general purpose in South Lebanon in order to report on the fulfillment of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. On September 24 Serge Coche and Jean-Pierre Filiu entered Israel with this mandate. Coche is a lawyer at the Paris Court and was the first foreign observer to visit the camp of Ansar in September 1982.

Both in Paris and in Jerusalem, the IFHR stated very clearly to Israeli officials that it did not want any kind of special permit nor military escort but just a pass for its two delegates to get into south Lebanon. But neither in Paris nor in Jerusalem, could the IFHR know where or when the passes to south Lebanon were issued. On September 25 at 11:00 am the two delegates had an interview with the division of human rights in the ministry of foreign affairs. They were told that the Israeli-Lebanese border was closed until the morning of September 30 because of Rosh Hashana holidays. But a phone call to UNIFIL troops on September 26 confirmed the border was still open and the Israeli army spokesman only announced the closure of the borders on September 26 at 9:30 am. So the delegates could have crossed the border easily during the day of September 25.

Nevertheless, the two IFHR delegates followed the advice of the ministry of foreign affairs and waited for a positive answer on September 30. But nothing was decided on this day and Coche had to return to Paris empty-handed on October 1.

On October 1 at 1:30 pm, after several phone calls, the ministry of foreign affairs told Filiu that permission was granted for him to enter Lebanon and that further information would be given to him during the evening. He was given an appointment the following day at 12:30 pm, with an Israeli colonel at a hotel at Kiryat Shemona. The IFHR delegate stated again that he only wished to get a permit into south Lebanon. On October 2 at 12:30 pm, Filiu was there in Kiryat Shemona. At 1:30 pm, he was still alone, so he called the ministry in Jerusalem, which asked him to keep on waiting. At 2:30 pm, since he had not received a visit from the colonel or a message, the IFHR delegate decided to return to Jerusalem.

This "missed appointment," which took place after two denials and eight days of fruitless waiting, can only be considered by the IFHR as a refusal to let its mission into south Lebanon. The behaviour of the Israeli authorities is surprising considering that in its previous missions, the IFHR received considerable cooperation from Israeli officials in 1980 in the occupied territories and in 1982 in south Lebanon, the West Bank and Gaza.

Furthermore, the present situation of the human rights in south Lebanon is very troublesome. The slaughter of 13 Shi'ite civilians by militiamen from the South Lebanon Army (SLA) on September 20 in Suhmur, is quite symptomatic. According to the official Israeli version, as reported in *The Jerusalem Post* on September 26, the leader of the SLA Antoine Lahad as well as Israeli army officers and soldiers were on the spot at the very moment of the slaughter, even though they said they tried to prevent it. This fact shows that the confessional bloodshed is ready to burst out right now in south Lebanon, even before a supposed Israeli withdrawal.

The IFHR organised the evacuation of 1000 Christians beseiged in Deir al-Qamar by the Druze of the Popular Socialist Party (PSP) in November 1983. The IFHR is thus concerned to see the Israeli army playing on the same religious conflicts as they did in the Shouf in 1982-83. The 2100 militiamen of the SLA are an essential part of the army's "security plan" for south Lebanon, but three quarters of them are Christian in an area where three quarters of the population are Muslim.

Furthermore, the Israeli army is practicing a sort of religious discrimination (for example, the Christians do not need a special permit to leave South Lebanon) that is worsening the confessional tensions.

"The Israeli army is practicing a sort of religious discrimination that is worsening the confessional tensions."

This "collective retaliation" seems a common practice after an anti-Israeli resistance operation and it can be applied either against the inhabitants of the same village (blockade; convocation of all the male adults in the central square of the village, which permitted the Suhmur slaughter,...) or against the members of the same family, who are harassed or arrested.

In the end, the safety of the Palestinian civilians seems very precarious; in the camp of Ain el-Hilweh, violent confrontations took place between the population and the Israeli army in mid-March and in mid-May and corpses of murdered civilians are often found.

All these facts are very serious and deserved to be confirmed on the spot. It was impossible and the IFHR regrets it.

Israeli soldiers inspect Lebanese goods at one of the many checkposts in south Lebanon.